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SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

RICHARD T. LAPIERE, *Consulting Editor*

NEGROES IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

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Negroes In American Society

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Yale University



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NEGROES IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

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PREFACE

The general point of view of this study of the American Negro and of race relations in the United States is developmental. Within the framework of cultural history, the expanding role of the Negro is considered from a long-range as well as a cross-sectional standpoint. The narrative carries the Negro from Africa through slavery to his present position in American society; and analysis is made of the development that has occurred in economic, educational, religious, familial, political, and other social and institutional aspects of Negro life. The influence of tradition and attitudes is also traced in a setting of social change. Special attention is given to the basic trends and their interrelationships in the evolution of American society and also of the Negro and of Negro-white relations. The prevailing view of this approach is that it is the past which has given rise to the present, out of which will emerge the future, and that social change is basically the result of impersonal forces which set the conditions under which men can attain more satisfactory adjustment. This general viewpoint should have the advantage of giving perspective to the discussion of the ubiquitous and perplexing problem of race relations.

It has been the aim to be as objective as possible and to indulge in no special pleading. The facts have been set forth and analyzed in an attempt to arrive at understanding in a sympathetic but scientific manner, without suggestions as to how the knowledge should be used. Emphasis has been placed on isolating the factors involved and determining the trends occurring, with predictions based on the effects that are likely to eventuate from the operation of the forces at work. It has also been the aim to avoid technical language and especially to eschew all jargon.

Since the story of the Negro is in large part the story of the South, much attention is devoted to the economic and social history of that region. Among other points, the diversity in basic conditions of life and in race relations that has characterized the

South, both under slavery and subsequently, is stressed as well as the points of uniformity. The change that is occurring there in the status of the Negro is also noteworthy when viewed in perspective. So rapid has his development become in certain respects, like education, occupation, or citizenship rights, that each new census or survey calls for a different orientation in presenting the factual situation. Variations within the Negro group as to numerous factors which may be summarized as socioeconomic status or social class are likewise of fundamental importance and serve as the basis for analyzing the Negro's condition and reaction. The white side of the problem of race relations is also treated throughout the volume. Indeed, the situation is viewed not as the Negro problem but as the Negro-white problem or the problem of Negro-white relations.

Designed primarily as a textbook giving a factual, scientific analysis rather than presenting a personal opinion or program, this volume is necessarily eclectic in character. The material has been drawn from a wide survey of the literature, both white and colored, and the contributions of various methods and approaches have been utilized. Acknowledgment is made in the annotated bibliography which will be found at the end of each chapter. In order to increase the readability and attractiveness of the volume, all footnotes have been eliminated. In the case of quoted material, the name of the author is mentioned in the text, together with the pages where such material may be found in the original; the source itself is cited in the bibliography for that chapter. Acknowledgment is hereby made with thanks to the following publishers of books or journals for permission to quote: American Council on Education; *The American Mercury*; Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc.; Common Council for American Unity; *The Crisis*; Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc.; Harper & Brothers; Houghton Mifflin Company; Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.; Little, Brown & Company; Negro Digest Publishing Company; *Phylon*; Survey Associates, Inc.; University of Chicago Press; The University of North Carolina Press; The Viking Press, Inc.; John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

MAURICE R. DAVIE

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CHAPTER 1

IMPORTATION FROM AFRICA

Our story of the American Negro begins in Africa, more specifically on the West Coast, whence came most of the slaves to the New World. Though some slaves were acquired from South Africa, East Africa, and the deep interior, the vast majority came from the region which extends from the mouth of the Senegal River to that of the Congo. The principal markets were at the mouths of the Senegal, Gambia, Niger, and Congo Rivers and along the Ivory, Gold, and Slave Coasts. This strip of coastal plains from which most of the slaves were taken is some 4,000 miles long and seldom more than 100 miles wide. It has usually been called the Guinea Coast because it is contiguous to the great gulf of that name, though the territory is often referred to in general as West Africa. Lying between 18 degrees north latitude and 10 degrees south latitude, it has a continual tropical climate. Along the coast especially, there is a nine months' wet season and a three months' dry. As a result of the copious rains there are dense forests, a large number of swamps, and stagnant pools. The high temperature and the humid air, unrelieved by change of season, are exceedingly enervating. Trader Horn said the West Coast of Africa is the white man's grave. Although Europeans find it almost impossible to live there, the Negroes have become adapted to the climate and have acquired some immunity to the environmental diseases. The region abounds in mosquitoes and other insects harmful to men and animals and in dangerous large carnivora. The heat and the moisture, the flora and the fauna make a very unfavorable environment.

This region is the home of the Sudanese and Guinea Negroes and, to the south, of the Bantus. Physically they are a tall, long-headed people with slanting forehead, prognathous jaw, flat and broad nose, full and everted lips, large teeth, black woolly hair (scanty on face and body), long arms and legs, and skin color ranging from brown to black.

In this general area we find native cultures so complex that they can be called primitive only in the technical sense of the word, that is, of a folk who have never developed a written language. These cultures as they existed before being influenced by contact with whites may be briefly described as follows: The basic self-maintenance is agriculture supplemented by fishing and hunting. There are domestic animals, chiefly sheep, goats, and fowl, while in the eastern Sudan and among the Bantu tribes, cattle are evidences of wealth. Some of the tribes are cannibals. It is interesting to note parenthetically that a chief source of terror during the slave trade was the deeply rooted idea of the natives that the whites purchased Negroes for the purpose of eating them or selling them to others that they might be devoured hereafter.

In addition to the basic agricultural organization, there is considerable specialization, especially in handicrafts which are commonly organized into family guilds. Trade flourishes. There are stated markets where transactions are carried on with the aid of a monetary system based on the cowry shell. The idea of private property is but imperfectly developed and never includes land. The main mass of visible wealth belongs to the family and clan rather than to the individual; only in the matter of weapons and ornaments is exclusive private ownership generally recognized.

Arts and crafts are highly developed. The wood carvings of the Congo, Nigeria and elsewhere, the bronzes of Benin, the brass figures of Dahomey, and the metal goldweights of the Ashanti enjoy a deserved recognition. Weaving of high quality is found everywhere in this area, but most notably on the Gold Coast, and also the manufacture of pottery and of iron implements. Except among the dwarf tribes, iron is smelted, worked, and used throughout Africa. There is no other native area so large in which an iron industry flourishes. Some scholars have thought that its origin was indigenous, that perhaps even Egypt derived its knowledge of iron from the Negro peoples, though Kroeber (p. 497) * thinks it is more probable that the reverse was true. However that may be, the Negroes developed their own techniques. In addition to the arts and crafts, aesthetic expression is

* For complete publishing data consult the References at the end of the chapter.

profuse in song and dance and also in the field of folk tales, proverbs, and riddles. Kroeber (p. 196) says that the West African tribes possess "a stock of proverbs as abundant and pithy as those current in Europe."

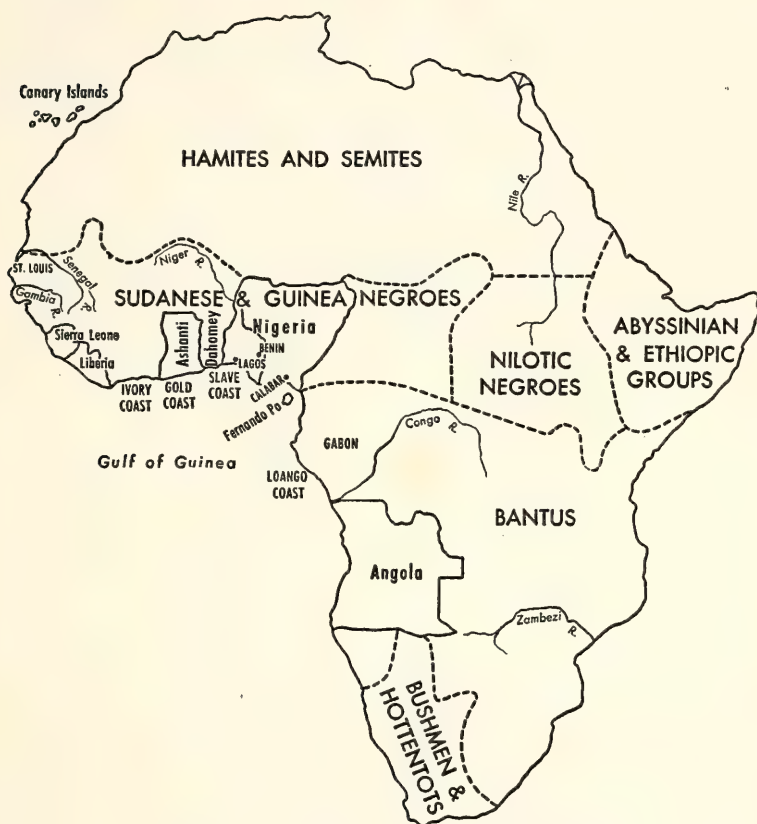


FIG. 1. The native peoples of Africa.

Slavery has existed among the native Africans since time immemorial, the slaves being obtained through the sale of debtors, the enslavement of criminals, and kidnaping and raiding. This domestic type or household variety of slavery is mild. The slaves have great liberty; their labor is light; they are considered as members of the family, can acquire and inherit property, own slaves themselves, and often purchase their freedom. This type of

slavery is vastly different from the kind of bondage to which the Negroes were introduced first by the Arabs and later by the European nations. Though the transportation of slaves has ceased except for smuggling that continues into Arabia, there are still parts of Africa, notably Abyssinia and Liberia, where the ancient practice persists.

The religion of Africa is the universal animism or fetishism of primitive peoples, rising to polytheism and approaching monotheism chiefly but not wholly as a result of Christian and Islamic missions. Spirits, good or malignant, are regarded as the cause of all phenomena. The medicine man or priest is the specialist dealing with the spirits and treating sickness. Among some tribes the priesthood has developed complex philosophies of the universe in terms of interrelated groups of deities, each with a specialized function. Together with this involved religious system goes a widespread belief in magic and in witchcraft. Human sacrifice is a developed practice. It provides the king after death not only with wives but servants in the spirit world and renews these servants from time to time. With this go also appeasement of evil spirits and punishment of crime. Funeral rites are elaborate throughout West Africa because the spirits of ancestors are believed to control the fortunes of their descendants, and hence the dead are propitiated with extended rituals. This ancestral cult also provides the basic sanction of the kinship system.

As among other primitive peoples, marriage is by actual or simulated purchase; though what the husband gives his parents-in-law is regarded essentially as a form of collateral for good behavior. Polygyny is prevalent, a large number of wives being considered a sign of wealth. In some places relationship is traced and property inherited through the female line. Out of the family has developed the typical African village organization, with the headman as head of a village community, of a quarter in a town-ship, or of a family. It is his duty to train his wards in the ways of loyalty and obedience, to keep them within bounds, to insist upon their conformity with the customs, laws, and traditional observances of the community, and to settle disputes. Within the family the rule of the elder is paramount. The head of the family is responsible to the village chief, who in turn is responsible to the district chief, and he to the head of a large area who has to account for the administration of his "province" to the king him-

self. An elaborate system of courts exists to handle disputes among the people and assure the reign of law. Another agency of social control has been the secret society, more highly developed in West Africa than in primitive society generally. The secret societies, to which boys are initiated at puberty, are more than an example of freemasonry; they have assumed a regulative function—punishing crime, serving as night police, collecting debts, protecting property, and even helping to maintain intertribal amity.

The government vested in elders and chiefs has varied in different tribes from absolute despotism to limited monarchies that are almost republican. Each tribe is ruled over by a chief or king who is usually surrounded by a council composed of nobles or village headmen. Among the outstanding historical examples of highly developed governments are the kingdoms of the Ashanti, of the Fanti, and Akim peoples, of Dahomey, of the Oyo, Egba, and other Yoruban folk, and of Benin, which brought to their inhabitants an ordered life regulated by stable dynasties. The kingdom of Dahomey was unique among primitive peoples in possessing not only a large, well-disciplined standing army but also a corps of female warriors, the so-called Amazons (best described by Richard F. Burton). The continuous growth of these West African kingdoms through the steady conquest of neighboring states developed a marked military ability which persisted as a factor of importance in the slave areas of the New World. These states were built up largely by war and the slave trade, and they acted as middlemen in providing victims for the foreign slave markets. Such in brief was the cultural background of the American Negro, a richer heritage than is commonly supposed.

The impulse for the enslavement of Negroes by other peoples came from the Arabs, who spread over northern Africa in the eighth century, conquering and converting as they went, and stimulated the trade across the Sahara until it attained large dimensions. As Negro kingdoms and tribes rose to power, they found the slave trade lucrative and natural, since the raids in which slaves were captured were ordinary intertribal wars. It was not until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, under the European slave trade, that the demand for slaves made them the object and not the incident of African wars. The desire for slaves in

Mohammedan countries was to a large extent a luxury demand. Negro slaves were imported for the harems and as soldiers and servants rather than as industrial workers. In contrast to the slave trade to the New World the demand was limited by the wealth of the leisure class or the ambitions of conquest and not by the prospect of gain on the part of a commercial enterprise.

The Turks and Arabs in the Crusades and the Moors of Spain and North Africa had introduced to the mind of medieval Europe the idea of Negro slaves, of "black Moors" (Blackamoor was the early name for Negroes; Negro, a Spanish word, did not come into common use in England until the nineteenth century), who were strong, willing, and faithful servants to their white employers. Although Moor enslaved Christian and Christian attempted to enslave Moor from the eighth to the eighteenth century, neither found it a paying game. The two races were too near akin culturally and physically to reign over each other.

The modern maritime slave trade began about 1442, when the Portuguese under Prince Henry the Navigator exchanged some captured Moors for 10 Negroes and a quantity of gold dust on the West Coast of Africa. By the time of Prince Henry's death in 1460 Portugal was importing seven or eight hundred Negro slaves each year. Lagos, in South Portugal, became a great slave mart. Another market was set up at Lisbon, where from 10,000 to 12,000 Negroes were sold annually in the sixteenth century. A large proportion of the Negroes carried to Portugal were set to work as slaves on great estates in the southern provinces; others were employed as domestic servants in Lisbon and other towns. Some were sold into Spain, where they were similarly employed. At the time of the discovery of America, Spain as well as Portugal had quite appreciable numbers of Negroes in her population, and both were maintaining a system of slavery. There are some grounds for believing that the pilot of Columbus's flagship, Pietro Alonzo, was a Negro.

The greatest factor in the extension of the slave trade was the discovery of the New World. As Donnan has stated in her documentary history of the slave trade to America (Vol. I, p. 1):

The conjunction in a single half-century of the discovery of an immense new labor supply and of a new and comparatively empty continent in which such a supply could be profitably utilized gave an

importance and a permanence to this branch of the trade which, had Europe alone been the vent, it could never have attained.

By the opening of the eighteenth century the African slave trade had become the foundation on which colonial industry and the colonial commerce of European countries rested.

The Portuguese were not only the first but among the greatest of all slave-trading nations, and they were back of most of the African slave raids. Their slaves were obtained mostly from the lower Congo, Dahomey, Lagos, Old Calabar, and Angola. The slaves were taken first to Spanish America and later to Brazil to work on the sugar plantations and in the diamond and gold mines, the great importation into that colony beginning about 1720. According to a conservative estimate, at least three million slaves were imported. The slave trade was abolished by Portugal north of the equator in 1815 and south of the equator in 1830, but the illicit trade persisted long after this. The status of slavery was abolished in Portuguese Africa in 1878 and in Brazil in 1888.

Pope Alexander VI's famous Bull of Demarcation in 1493 assigned to Spain the New World except Brazil, and to Portugal the West Coast of Africa south of the Canary Islands. Thus to Portugal went mainly the slave-supplying region and to Spain the slave-importing region. After the Spaniards had conquered the Canary Islands, they dispatched a group of the natives as slaves to Hispaniola, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, the first contingent arriving in 1502. Since the Canary Islanders were not sufficient in number or had become Christians, Spain looked to the Portuguese possessions in Africa for supplies of Negroes to labor in the plantations, forests, and mines of Spanish America in lieu of the Indians, who proved less and less enslavable. Because of the Bull of Demarcation, Spain was compelled to contract with other nations for slaves. This contract, called *Asiento*, or agreement of the King of Spain to the importation of slaves into Spanish domains, was first in the hands of the Portuguese; in 1640 the Dutch received it; in 1701 the French; and in 1713 the English. In 1777 Spain undertook to procure her own slaves and established posts on the Island of Fernando Po, the coast of Sierra Leone, Liberia, and elsewhere. Spain declared the slave trade illegal in 1820, but it was continued surreptitiously for some time thereafter.

It was the Dutch, however, who launched the overseas slave

trade as a regular institution. They made their first trading voyage to the Guinea Coast in 1595, getting their slaves mostly from the Gold Coast. By 1621 they had captured Portugal's various slave forts on the West Coast, and they proceeded to establish others. The same year the private companies engaged in such trading were all merged into the Dutch West India Company, which carried thousands of slaves annually to Dutch Guiana, settled in 1616, to northern Brazil, and to the English colonies. The Dutch abolished the slave trade in 1848 and ended slavery in Guiana and the Dutch West Indies in 1863.

The English first entered into the African slave trade through the adventures and contracts of Sir John Hawkins, who in 1562, "partly by the sword and partly by other means," procured some 300 Negroes in Sierra Leone which he exchanged in Hispaniola for colonial produce. It was not, however, until the middle of the seventeenth century that the English were able to set up in a permanent fashion slave-trading establishments on the Guinea Coast (on the Gambia River, 1618 and 1664, and on the Gold Coast, 1618, 1626, and 1668). The first regularly chartered company to carry on the trade was established in 1631 and was succeeded in 1662 by the Royal African Company. England secured the Spanish slave-trade monopoly in 1713, which she held for 35 years, engaging to supply the colonies with slaves at the rate of 48,000 per year. Eventually the English forced the Dutch out of the slave trade and became the great slave traders of the world. Their empire in America centered in the Barbados, Jamaica, and other West Indian islands, and in the American colonies on the mainland. Large numbers of Negroes were imported, reaching a total of over 50,000 annually late in the eighteenth century. Between 1680 and 1786 it is estimated that over 2,000,000 slaves were imported into the British West Indies. England abolished the slave trade in 1807, largely through the efforts of William Wilberforce, and was the second nation so to act. Denmark, which had been carrying on a minor slave trade since 1657, set the example by prohibiting the traffic in 1802. Slavery was abolished in the British possessions in 1834.

The French were among the last of the European nations to establish slave-trading depots on the African coast, their first real settlement at Fort St. Louis du Sénégal being established in 1662. They traded for slaves with Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Ivory

Coast, Dahomey, and the Loango Coast immediately north of the Congo mouth and brought their slaves to Guiana and their West Indian possessions, but especially to Santo Domingo, which then included the present Haiti. Owing to wars with England, the French never became great slave traders, and their West Indian possessions were supplied mainly by the Dutch, Danes, and Portuguese in the earlier days, although the French Royal Sénégal Company held the coveted *Asiento* from 1701 to 1713. France forbade slave trading in 1817.

In regard to the general treatment of the Negro slaves, the Portuguese and Brazilians rivaled the Spaniards for the first place in the list of humane slave-holding nations; even in Africa their treatment of the slaves was less cruel than that of the French, Dutch, and British, particularly the latter two. They also mingled more freely with the Negroes. Of all European nations the Portuguese have always granted the Negro the greatest freedom. All persons born in the Portuguese colonies, of whatever color, are full citizens of Portugal with all rights. There is no color line and no such racial discrimination as exists in English and American colonies. Brazil is outstanding among New World countries in its practice of racial equality.

The better treatment of slaves in Latin America than elsewhere in the New World had its roots in the custom and law respecting slaves in the Iberian Peninsula, running back to the Justinian Code and supported by church as well as state, as Frank Tannenbaum has recounted in his book on the Negro in the Americas, *Slave and Citizen*. Under this law slavery was in effect a contractual arrangement between the master and his bondsman. It had nothing to do with color or race. The church upheld this and maintained that slave and master were equal in the sight of God. The state protected the slave from a harsh master, provided for his marrying, and prescribed the circumstances in which he might be freed. These Iberian laws and customs were carried overseas and governed the relation between master and slave there as in the homeland. Thus the element of human personality was not lost in the transition to slavery from Africa to the Spanish or Portuguese dominions, and this served as a preparation for moral and other responsibilities characteristic of freedom. Abolition of slavery was achieved in Latin America without violence. Today the Negro, south of the Rio Grande, is a respected citizen to whom most

doors are open. North of the Rio Grande, where his history was quite different, he is impeded and restive under the stigma fastened on him by the past.

In Africa the slave trade transformed the primitive scheme of life and brought widespread devastation. It destroyed old industries and corrupted tribal institutions. Every chief and every tribesman acquired a potential interest in slave getting and slave selling. Kidnaping increased and wars and raids were multiplied until towns by hundreds were swept from the earth and great districts denuded of their population. David Livingstone estimated that the annual deaths in Africa owing to the slave trade were 50,000. In one instance cited by Stanley, 118 villages and tribal districts, estimated to contain 118,000 people, were devastated in order to get 2,300 captives. DuBois estimates that Africa lost in actual captives, killed defenders, and those who died from disease and murder not less than 50 million souls. Phillips in his *American Negro Slavery* (p. 45) states:

The slave trade has well been called the systematic plunder of a continent. But in the irony of fate those Africans who lent their hands to the looting got nothing but deceptive rewards, while the victims of the rapine were quite possibly better off on the American plantations than the captors who remained in the African jungle. The only participants who got unquestionable profit were the English, European and Yankee traders and manufacturers.

It is a deeply rooted American tradition that the Negro is a born slave, yet nothing could be more false. As Herskovits (p. 30) has stated in an article on the ancestry of the American Negro,

From the moment of their enslavement the Negroes did not stop resisting; in the slave barracoons of the West Coast, on shipboard and on the plantations there was a persistent danger of revolt that made life a nightmare to those in charge of these Negroes. Captains of slave ships often lost their vessels because of slave uprisings, and those who were wise—and these were numerous—took out “revolt insurance.” The first Negro slaves to be brought to the New World were shipped in 1510; the first slave revolt occurred just twelve years later, while eleven other revolts of Negro slaves have been recorded for Spanish America between 1522 and 1553. Recent historical research has shown that the revolts, small and large, in the United States are to be numbered by the dozens. In Brazil, in Dutch Guiana, in Jamaica, in Haiti, slaves were constantly escaping to the freedom of the bush

and were there organized by men who had been leaders in the areas from which the slaves had originally come. With supernatural sanctions assured by their African priests, those who had escaped raided the plantations and rescued still more slaves, so that the little communities of "maroons" became constantly larger and more powerful. In Brazil the most important of these groups was finally subdued, but in the other three regions the operations of these bands of revolvers met with a success whose implications have almost never been recognized. Today Haiti is free, the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana acknowledge but the nominal suzerainty of the Netherlands Government, and the Maroons of Jamaica live as a self-contained community, paying no taxes and holding their own courts.

For every slave imported from Africa it has been estimated that from three to ten natives have lost their lives, either through the march to the coast or directly through the raid or through the resulting famine and disease. Destructive as was the slave trade in Africa, it was in the sea transit to America and in the after-treatment of the slave when he reached the New World that the unpardonable cruelty occurred. While the ship was taking on slaves and provisions, the Negroes were generally kept in a temporary stockade on deck, for the sake of fresh air. But on departure for the "middle passage," as the trip to America was called by reason of its being the second leg of the ship's triangular voyage in the trade, the slaves were kept below at night and in foul weather and were allowed above only in daylight for food, air, and exercise. The Negro men were usually kept shackled for the first part of the passage until the chances of mutiny and return to Africa dwindled and the captain's fears gave place to confidence. The slaves were generally branded for identification. When the cargo was full—and its filling often took many weeks and a toll of death among whites and blacks on that pestilential coast—the ship would set sail. The slaves were crowded into between-decks too low to permit standing. The only mitigating features were the speed of the ship in the trade-wind latitudes and the interest of the owners in keeping their merchandise alive and salable. The following is a description of a Brazilian slave ship as seen in 1829 by the Reverend R. Walsh and quoted in Sir Harry H. Johnston's *The Negro in the New World* (pp. 85–87).

She had taken in, on the coast of Africa, 336 males and 226 females, making in all 562, and had been out seventeen days, during which she

had thrown overboard fifty-five. The slaves were all enclosed under grated hatchways, between-decks. The space was so low that they sat between each other's legs, and stowed so close together that there was no possibility of their lying down, or at all changing their position, by night or day. As they belonged to and were shipped on account of different individuals, they were all branded, like sheep, with the owners' marks of different forms. . . . These were impressed under their breasts, or on their arms, and, as the mate informed me, with perfect indifference—burnt with a red-hot iron. Over the hatchway stood a ferocious-looking fellow, with a scourge of many twisted thongs in his hand, who was the slave driver of the ship. Whenever he heard the slightest noise below, he shook the whip over them, and seemed eager to exercise it. . . .

But the circumstance which struck us most forcibly was, how it was possible for such a number of human beings to exist, packed up and wedged together as tight as they could cram, in low cells, 3 feet high, the greater part of which, except that immediately under the grated hatchways, was shut out from light or air, and this when the thermometer, exposed to the open sky, was standing in the shade, on our deck, at 89 degrees. The space between-decks was divided into two compartments 3 feet 3 inches high; the size of one was 16 by 18 feet, and of the other 40 by 21 feet; into the first were crammed the women and girls; into the second, the men and boys: 226 fellow creatures were thus thrust into one space 288 feet square; and 336 into another space 800 [*sic*] feet square, giving to the whole an average of 23 inches, and to each of the women not more than 13 inches, though many of them were pregnant. We also found manacles and fetters of different kinds, but it appears that they had all been taken off before we boarded.

The heat of these horrid places was so great, and the odour so offensive, that it was quite impossible to enter them, even had there been room. They were measured as above when the slaves had left them. The officers insisted that the poor suffering creatures should be admitted on deck to get air and water. This was opposed by the mate of the slaver, who, from a feeling that they deserved it, declared they would murder them all. The officers, however, persisted, and the poor beings were all turned up together. It is impossible to conceive the effect of this eruption—517 fellow-creatures of all ages and sexes, some children, some adults, some old men and women, all in a state of total nudity, scrambling out together to taste the luxury of a little fresh air and water. They came swarming up, like bees from the aperture of a hive, till the whole deck was crowded to suffocation, from stem to stern; so that it was impossible to imagine where they

could all have come from, or how they could have been stowed away. On looking into the places where they had been crammed, there were found some children next to the sides of the ship, in the places most remote from light and air; they were lying nearly in a torpid state, after the rest had turned out. The little creatures seemed indifferent as to life or death, and when they were carried on deck, many of them could not stand.

After enjoying for a short time the unusual luxury of air, some water was brought; it was then that the extent of their sufferings was exposed in a fearful manner. They all rushed like maniacs towards it. No entreaties, or threats, or blows, could restrain them; they shrieked, and struggled, and fought with one another, for a drop of this precious liquid, as if they grew rabid at the sight of it.

Overcrowding on the slave ships was general. The disease rate was high, and the death rate often amounted to 50 per cent. What the survivors may have looked like when they were landed at their destined port may be surmised from this description by Captain Stedman at Dutch Guiana in 1789 (also quoted from Sir Harry H. Johnston, p. 87).

They were a drove of newly imported negroes, men and women, with a few children, who were just landed from on board a Guinea ship, to be sold as slaves. The whole party was such a set of scarcely animated automatons, such a resurrection of skin and bones as forcibly reminded me of the last trumpet. These objects appeared at that moment to be risen from the grave or escaped from Surgeons' Hall; and I confess I can give no better description of them than by comparing them to walking skeletons covered over with a piece of tanned leather.

But the recuperative power of the Negro is extraordinary, and after ten days' or a fortnight's good feeding, many of these physical wrecks were in a prime condition for the slave market.

In the principal importing colonies careful study was given to the comparative qualities of the several African stocks. The Senegalese, for example, were considered most intelligent and were especially esteemed for domestic service, the handicrafts, and responsible positions; the Mandingoes from Gambia were reputed to be gentle in demeanor but prone to theft; the Coromantees (or Ashantis) from the Gold Coast were regarded as hardy and stalwart of mind and body; the Whydahs, Nagoes, and Pawpaws (Dahomean and allied peoples) from the Slave Coast were per-

haps the most highly esteemed of all for being lusty, industrious, cheerful, and submissive; of the Eboes (or Ibos) and Mocoos of Calabar the women were said to be diligent but the men lazy, despondent, and prone to suicide; the Gaboons at the equator were reputed the worst of all because they were lacking in physical stamina; and the Congoes and Angolas were considered mild in disposition, unusually honest, but very stupid.

The importation of slaves from Africa to the Western Hemisphere went on for nearly 400 years, from the beginning of the sixteenth century until the 1880's when the last slaves were imported into Cuba and Brazil. As to the gross volume of the trade, there are few statistics. As early as 1734 it is estimated that a maximum of 70,000 slaves a year had already been attained. For the next half-century and more each passing year saw between 50,000 and 100,000 shipped. As to the total number of slaves imported, Phillips estimates more than 5,000,000; DuBois, 10,000,000; the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 12,000,000; and Owen, 15,500,000. Perhaps 15 to 20 per cent died on the passage. Prior to the nineteenth century far more Negroes than white colonists crossed the seas, though less than one-tenth of all the blacks brought to the Western world appear to have been landed on the North American continent.

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CHAPTER 2

SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES

THE IMPORTATION OF SLAVES TO THE UNITED STATES

About the last of August, 1619, related John Rolfe, there came to Virginia "a dutch man of warre that sold us twenty Negers." Booker T. Washington once remarked that the *Mayflower*, which brought to America the first seeds of civil and religious liberty, reached Plymouth a year later, in 1620, and thus Negro slavery is older than Anglo-Saxon liberty on the soil of the United States. At the time of the first census in 1790 there were 292,627 slaves in Virginia and a total of 697,624 in the United States.

The early development of slavery in America represented an extension of the institution from the West Indies where the plantation system originated and where it reached its greatest scale. The slaves, landing from 1619 onward, were usually transported from the West Indian marts after acclimatization and training in systematic plantation work. The conversion of new Negroes into plantation laborers in the West Indies was a process called "breaking in" or "seasoning." As Phillips has described it in his *American Negro Slavery* (p. 53):

Some planters distributed their new purchases among the seasoned households, thus delegating the task largely to the veteran slaves. Others housed and tended them separately under the charge of a select staff of nurses and guardians and with frequent inspection from headquarters. The mortality rate was generally high under either plan, ranging usually from twenty to thirty per cent in the seasoning period of three or four years.

The deaths came from diseases brought from Africa or acquired on the voyage, from the change of climate and food, from exposure, accident, manslaughter, and suicide. Some seasoning was done on large plantations in the American colonies, as Guion Johnson reports in *A Social History of the Sea Islands* (pp. 77-78).

Most of the slave trade to the American colonies was in the

hands of the British. Next most important among the slave traders were the colonists themselves. The greatest of the slave-trading colonies was Rhode Island. Although she did not import many slaves for her own use, she became the clearinghouse for the trade of other colonies. Newport was the mart for slaves offered for sale in the North and a point of reshipment for all slaves. It was principally this trade that raised Newport to her commercial importance in the eighteenth century. Massachusetts and Connecticut and, to a lesser extent, New Hampshire also played a role in the slave traffic, sending food, horses, and other commodities to the West Indies in exchange for slaves and selling the slaves in other colonies. The Yankee traders also brought molasses home from the West Indies, which they made into rum and took to Africa in exchange for slaves. There was little or no stigma attached to trading in Negroes before the Revolution; the slave trade was regarded as honorable a vocation as, say, lumbering or fishing. Many leading New England citizens, including churchmen, invested in slave ships and were slave-owners.

Later, the colonists endeavored to regulate, limit, or totally prohibit the traffic. By 1778 legislative measures prohibiting the slave trade had been passed by all the New England and Middle states, and by Maryland and Virginia; by 1798 similar action had been taken by every other state, although the trade was afterward revived in South Carolina and Georgia. The plantation colonies limited the slave trade mainly from fear of insurrection, the Northern colonies primarily from economic motives, although in Pennsylvania the economic revolt against the trade acquired a distinct moral tinge. The first assumption of national control of the slave trade came in 1774, when the Continental Congress passed a resolution to abolish it. In 1789 the convention that framed the Constitution made plans for the abolition of this traffic in 1808, and later the first day of 1808 was chosen as the time when the slave trade should become illegal.

The actual importations of slaves can only be estimated. A Mr. Carey, cited in the census publication *A Century of Population Growth*, estimates the total number of slaves imported up to 1808 at 333,000. A closer estimate would bring the number to 400,000. Although the importation of Negroes was legally stopped in 1808, the contraband slave trade continued for a long period without marked abatement. This statement is amply substantiated

by newspaper clippings, naval records, consular records, Congressional debates, presidential messages, and other executive documents which speak frankly of the situation. The decade of the 1850's witnessed the peak of this activity. One of the most notorious cases was that of the schooner *Wanderer*, which was fitted out as a slaver in 1858 by a Georgia slaveholder in ostentatious defiance of the laws against the slave trade. It brought a cargo of over 400 slaves from Africa, which it landed safely in Georgia and South Carolina. Probably the last slave ship was the *Lawrence*, which ran the Federal blockade during the Civil War and landed a boatload of slaves in Mobile in 1862. It is estimated by Collins in his volume *The Domestic Slave Trade of the Southern States* (p. 20) that from 1808 to 1860 about 270,000 slaves were imported.

By act of Congress in 1864 the coastwise slave trade was forever prohibited. Before the end of the war the trade was entirely suppressed. The vigilance of the government, however, was not checked, and as late as 1866 a squadron patrolled the Slave Coast of West Africa. Finally, the Thirteenth Amendment legally confirmed what the war had already accomplished, and slavery and the slave trade fell at one blow.

THE DEVELOPMENT AND ECOLOGY OF SLAVERY

The first Negroes brought to Virginia were given the status of indentured servants and in many cases were members of their masters' households. Some of them secured their freedom after a number of years of service. The importation of Negroes was for a time on an experimental scale, and even their legal status during the early decades was indefinite. The firstcomers were slaves in the hands of their maritime sellers; but they were not fully slaves in the hands of their Virginian buyers, for there was neither law nor custom then establishing the institution of slavery in Virginia or the other colonies.

As early as the 1640's, however, the holders of Negroes were falling into the custom of considering them and on occasion selling them, along with the issue of the females, as servants for life and perpetuity. This practice was later crystallized into a legal institution. Greene (p. 125) holds that Massachusetts was the first colony to take this step in 1641. In 1662 Virginia enacted that "whereas some doubts have arisen whether children got by any

Englishman upon a negro woman shall be slave or free, . . . all children born in this colony shall be bond or free only according to the condition of the mother." In 1680 a distinctive police law for slaves was enacted, and from that time onward the laws for their control were as definite and for the time being as stringent as those which were being enacted in Barbados and Jamaica. By 1750 slavery was recognized by law in every North American colony.

The early importations of Negroes were all of persons who had already been baptized and could therefore not be life slaves according to the rule then prevailing. It is probable that "heathen" or raw Africans were made life slaves as soon as they were imported. Since it was believed that the conversion of a Negro to Christianity entitled him to freedom, many planters refused to allow ministers to come near their plantations. Accordingly, it became necessary for many colonial legislatures, beginning with the legislature of Maryland in 1664, formally to affirm the principle that baptism and conversion did not entail freedom. Later, the conversion of the Negroes was looked upon as one of the justifications of slavery. In seeking for a justification for slavery, recourse was had to a Biblical sanction which the whites believed they found in the latter part of the ninth chapter of Genesis, where Noah cursed his son Ham the father of Canaan and said, "A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." This story, which makes no mention of anybody's being turned black, is still frequently used in parts of the South as Biblical proof that the Negro was created to serve the white man. A stronger justification for slavery was found in the notion of racial inferiority, a notion that even today after the legal sanction of slavery has been destroyed continues as a powerful factor in race relations (see Chap. 17).

Although slavery was legally sanctioned and tried out in all the colonies, it soon became a question of latitude: it was profitable only in the South, where the plantation system, based on the production of the great staples of tobacco, cotton, sugar, and rice, could be developed. In the North, which was adapted to the farm type of agriculture, the slaves were few in number and used mainly as domestic servants and to a lesser extent in farming and other occupations. The accompanying table shows the number

of slaves in the area enumerated in 1790 for the period from 1790 to 1860:

Year	United States	New England	Middle states	Southern states
1790	697,624	3,763	45,210	648,651
1800	893,602	1,339	41,184	847,281
1810	1,191,362	418	30,840	1,090,852
1820	1,538,022	145	22,365	1,319,208
1830	2,009,043	48	6,024	1,571,033
1840	2,487,355	23	3,347	1,605,735
1850	3,204,313	.....	2,526	1,840,044
1860	3,953,760	.....	1,816	1,973,986

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *A Century of Population Growth*, p. 133.

The figures for the area added since 1790 show the same general trends: a small and decreasing number of slaves in the Northern states and a large and increasing number in the Southern.

The first action against the ownership of slaves was taken by Vermont in 1775. By 1783 slavery had also been prohibited in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Gradual emancipation was provided for in acts passed by Pennsylvania in 1780, by Connecticut and Rhode Island in 1784, New York in 1799, and New Jersey in 1804. In 1787 slavery was forbidden in the Northwest Territory. With the exception of Delaware, all the original thirteen states north of Maryland, as well as Vermont, had by 1804 provided for the abolition of slavery, and by 1861 every state north of Mason and Dixon's line had made slavery illegal.

The freedom of the Negro in the North did not mean equality of black and white. Negroes were often considered incompetent to act as witnesses in court. Intermarriage between Negroes and whites was specifically prohibited in 12 instances, and Negroes were generally denied the right of suffrage. In fact, of all the states which were members of the Union up to 1865 only Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, and New York made no discrimination against the Negroes in regard to suffrage. Other disabilities were occasionally imposed, such as restrictions on their free movement and education. On the other hand, there was some legislation in the Northern states protective

to the Negroes. In the early part of the nineteenth century, before the laws for gradual emancipation had effected the complete abolition of slavery, a few laws were passed against maltreatment of slaves and free Negroes; especially common were laws against kidnaping Negroes and selling them into slavery in another state. After 1840 many Northern states passed laws designed to make the recapture of fugitive slaves difficult.

It has been estimated that at the period of taking the first census the average price of Negroes in the United States varied from \$150 to \$200 (in terms of money today, several times that figure). Considered in terms of money values at that period, the slaves in New England in 1790 had a property value of more than \$500,000, those in the Middle states a value of approximately \$7,000,000, and those in the Southern states a value of over \$97,000,000. The North could easily free its slaves, who were so few in number and a minor and uneconomic part of its labor supply. But in the South they were so numerous that practically everyone was impressed by the dangers that would arise from liberating the slaves and leaving them as a part of Southern society. The industrial collapse following emancipation in the British West Indies, on the one hand, and the pillage and massacre that occurred in Haiti and Santo Domingo, on the other hand, were alternative examples of what might be apprehended from orderly or revolutionary abolition, as the case might be. This social reason for continuing slavery was stronger than the economic one in making the South anti-abolition. In 1860 there were 244 Southern counties in which the blacks outnumbered the whites. Thomas Jefferson said with reference to slavery, "We have the wolf by the ears, and it is as dangerous to let go as it is to hold on."

Negro slavery appears to have played a necessary part in the settlement of the New World in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There was during that time no other means of securing the labor required to produce the great staples which Europe wanted from America, the production of which furnished the chief motive for colonization. In other words, slavery was due to the plantation system, and it flourished where conditions were favorable to the large-scale production of staple crops. This was not true of the entire South. In some parts of the South conditions were favorable to cereal crops, the farm type of agriculture, and

there slavery failed to maintain itself. This was especially true in the mountainous parts of Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, and of the border states of Maryland, Delaware, Tennessee, and Missouri. Slavery flourished where there were high fertility of the soil and practically unlimited amounts of it. These conditions were found in the so-called Black Belt, an area of very fertile soil in the coastal or flood plains stretching in a crescent from Virginia through North and South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, to Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas. In general it may be said that in the South the number and proportion of Negroes increase as one proceeds from the highlands to the lowlands. The former constitutes the White Belt of the South as the latter does the Black Belt. A further differentiation may be made in the South in the old days between a slave-breeding and a slave-working region. In some sections, as will be pointed out later, it was more profitable to raise slaves for sale than to employ them in productive labor.

The proportion of slaveholding families and the average number of slaves held also varied by region. The Census Bureau has made but one tabulation of this character—in 1850. A similar classification has been made for 1790 for comparative purposes, which is summarized in the accompanying table for all states for which data are available:

State or territory	Per cent of all families that were slaveholding		Average number of slaves per slaveholding family	
	1790	1850	1790	1850
United States.	17.2	9.7	7.3	9.2
Area enumerated in 1790.	17.2	9.3	7.3	8.6
New England.	2.8		1.8	
Middle states.	9.8	0.1	2.8	2.5
Southern states.	35.8	30.3	8.3	8.6
Added area.		10.3		10.2

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *A Century of Population Growth*, p. 135.

The slave-owners of the Northern states required slaves principally as household servants, and the number owned by individuals was almost always small. Only three persons in the Northern states in 1790 owned over twenty slaves each. The following table classifies slaveholding families by size of holding for those

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF SLAVEHOLDING FAMILIES ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF SLAVES HELD, 1790 AND 1850

Owners of	1790	1850
1 slave.....	24.5	17.4
2 and under 5 slaves.....	30.4	29.5
5 and under 10 slaves.....	22.0	24.4
10 and under 20 slaves.....	14.3	17.4
20 and under 50 slaves.....	6.4	9.1
50 and under 100 slaves.....	1.0	1.7
100 and under 200 slaves.....	0.2	0.4
200 and under 300 slaves.....	*	0.1
300 slaves and over.....	*	*
Unknown.....	1.0	

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *A Century of Population Growth*, p. 136.

* Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

states for which data are available for both censuses. The comparable area in each year comprises the New England states of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, the Middle states of New York and Pennsylvania, and the Southern states of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. A breakdown of the percentages by states shows a tendency in Maryland and Virginia to reduce slaveholdings over the period covered and in North and South Carolina to increase them. Although in general the tendency was toward an increase in the larger slaveholdings from 1790 to 1850, in neither instance were they in the majority. The most common holding at both dates was between two and five slaves. At both periods approximately nine-tenths of all slaveholding families held under twenty slaves apiece. The number of persons in white slaveholding families themselves formed in 1850 not more than one-third of the total white population of the slave states. Thus only a minority of the whites were

slaveholders, and of these but a small minority held more than twenty slaves apiece. There was nearly as great a concentration of ownership in the best agricultural land. This meant that in a country predominantly agricultural the ownership of labor, land, and capital was extraordinarily concentrated. This commanding minority dominated thought in the South and led in the development of the plantation system, which became the most characteristic institution of the South and the basis of race relations.

THE ECONOMICS OF SLAVERY

Negro slaves were first used in raising tobacco, especially in Virginia. The work of tobacco planting was a healthy occupation, and the Virginian Negroes thrived and were not unhappy in their slavery during the seventeenth century. About 1700 rice was introduced into South Carolina. The cultivation of rice in swamps under the hot sun proved most unhealthy to the Negroes; consequently, the slave supply for South Carolina and later for Georgia had to be constantly renewed by drafts from Africa. Later in the century sugar cane was introduced into Louisiana from the West Indies. After 1770 the cultivation of cotton was begun in South Carolina and Georgia and later was extended rapidly throughout the Southern states.

The great growth of slavery in the United States was due to the difficulty of organizing free labor in the cotton industry. Cheap land suitable to the production of the great staple crops, especially cotton, was abundant, but these crops could not be cultivated and marketed to advantage except on a large scale. With land almost gratis and a good, although distant, market assured, the supreme difficulty was to obtain laborers. White men could cultivate cotton—today they produce most of it—but they would work only as independent farmers, not as wage earners, for the reason that land was practically free. Hence the only way to produce cotton on a large scale was by the use of slave labor. Later, when a wage-earning class emerged in this country, this economic basis of slavery was removed.

The economies of large-scale production were more than sufficient to counterbalance the inefficiency of slave as compared with free labor and enabled the former to win in competition with the latter. The invention of the cotton gin in 1793 increased the efficiency of unskilled labor, made the cost of cotton infinitely

cheaper, brought more land under control, and created a strong economic motive for retaining slave labor. The cotton crop, which had been 8,000 bales in 1790, increased phenomenally to 650,000 bales in 1820, to 2,500,000 bales in 1850, and to 4,000,000 bales in 1860.

The rise of the cotton industry concurred with the prohibition of the African slave trade to enhance immensely the value of slaves and to increase the financial obstacle to sweeping abolition. The extension of slavery from 1790 to 1860 was brought about by the annexation of territory and especially by settlement and the transfer of slaves from the older to the newly settled areas in the South and Southwest. At the beginning of this period slaves in Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia were employed principally in the cultivation of tobacco. The soil was rapidly impoverished by this crop, and as a result the center of tobacco culture tended to move westward into new and more favorable sections in Kentucky and Tennessee. As the cultivation of tobacco by slaves became somewhat less profitable in the older states, the acquisition of territory in the far South and Southwest and the introduction and rapid expansion of cotton growing in that section made slave labor highly profitable and led to a shifting of the slave population. Cotton culture began in the Carolinas, but this one-crop system, essentially exploitative of the soil, always found it easier to move westward to newer land than to preserve or restore the old farms. Thus the cotton area, carrying slavery and the plantation with it, moved steadily to Georgia and Alabama, then to Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana, just as more recently it has moved westward to Texas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and finally to southern California.

Slavery as an economic institution has certain advantages and disadvantages. Among the economic advantages of slavery are these: the employer has absolute power over his workmen and disposal of the whole fruit of their labor. Slave labor admits of the most complete organization—it may be combined on an extensive scale and directed to a single end. Its cost does not rise above what is necessary to maintain the slave in health and physical efficiency. Among its economic disadvantages are the facts that slave labor is given reluctantly, it is unskilled, and it lacks versatility. Slavery did not permit the accumulation of capital; the surplus went to buy more slaves or to keep the planters in

luxury and idleness. Slaves were a somewhat precarious property. Losses were incurred through disease, flight, death, and theft. Before any profit accrued to the master various deductions had to be subtracted from the surplus which the labor of the slave produced over and above the cost of his maintenance. These included interest on the slave's cost; amortization of the investment; insurance for slave losses and for support when incapacitated by illness, accident, or old age; taxes; and wages of superintendence.

In the course of time slavery would have demonstrated its unprofitableness. The institution was introduced into the South at a time when the people of all civilized nations of the world held slaves. But it was soon found ill adapted to industrial countries and those where diversified agriculture dominated and where there was a long off season for labor. In the United States the slavery frontier gradually shifted southward out of New England, later out of the Middle Atlantic states, and in the 1840's and 1850's was rapidly on the decline in Virginia, North Carolina, and Kentucky. It would have declined relatively in the lower South had it not been for the invention of the cotton gin and the exploitation of cheaply purchased virgin soil.

Moreover, slavery was inconsistent with economic progress, certainly with the kind of economic progress characteristic of the nineteenth century, which implied a constant increase in wealth by means of the application of science, mechanical appliances, and improved business organization to the processes of production and, further, a skilled, intelligent, responsible, and adaptable laboring class. A system which is based upon status not only keeps the laboring man inefficient by denying him the right to rise but deprives the property-owning classes of the stimulus of competition.

Among some of the after-effects of the slavery regime were these: it stigmatized manual labor; it encouraged extravagant habits and ways of living in the South; it taught the Negro civilized ways, assured him a home, clothing, food, and service in time of sickness and old age, but it made him dependent and improvident and deadened his initiative; it limited the development of the poor but free white men of the South; it depleted the soil; it stood as a barrier to technology and city growth; and it developed an autocracy which was carried over from the plantation into the political world and checked the growth of true democracy.

THE PLANTATION SYSTEM

The plantation system which developed in the South and became the most important institution separating the South from the other sections of the country, affected deeply the lives of both whites and blacks and set a pattern of race relations that still prevails in the South. Although only a minority of whites were directly associated with it, all were influenced by it. Differentiation of social classes was produced by the plantation system, as we shall later see, while it was the dominating factor in the maintenance, control, and assimilation of the Negroes.

The basic function of the plantation was, of course, the production of staple crops. This required a large body of laborers whose maintenance, and that of their children who were destined to take the place of the operatives, became a primary concern of the proprietor. This is described as follows by Professor Phillips in his classic study of *Life and Labor in the Old South* (pp. 197-198):

The basic food allowance came to be somewhat standardized at a quart of corn meal and half a pound of salt pork per day for each adult and proportionably for children, commuted or supplemented with sweet potatoes, field peas, sirup, rice, fruit and "garden sass" as locality and season might suggest. The clothing was coarse, and shoes were furnished only for winter. The housing was in huts of one or two rooms per family, commonly crude but weather-tight. Fuel was abundant. The sanitation of the clustered cabins was usually a matter of systematic attention; and medical service was at least commensurate with the groping science of the time and the sparse population of the country. Many of the larger plantations had central kitchens, day nurseries, infirmaries, and physicians on contract for periodic visits. The aged and infirm must be cared for along with the young and able-bodied, to maintain the good will of their kinsmen among the workers, if for no other reason. Morale was no less needed than muscle if performance were to be kept above a barely tolerable minimum.

The plantation was a relatively self-contained economic unit and as such required the performance of a considerable range of work. Thus there arose a specialization of labor among the Negroes with corresponding differences in status. The foreman, the miller, and the smith were men of position and pride. The butler, the maid, and the children's nurse were in continuous

contact with the white household, "enjoying the best opportunity to acquire its manners along with its discarded clothing." The field hands were at the bottom of the scale. In general the most fundamental social distinction among the slaves was between the house servants and the field hands, with a wide range of advantages separating them—a distinction that carried over, with significant social results, into the after-slavery period.

The plantation became not only an economic institution but an institution of government as well. The Southern plantation has always had the character of a coercive institution for regulating racial contact in the interest of the planter. In addition to the authority and power of the planter over his slaves, there also appeared a form of social control which the group imposed upon itself. This arose from the fact that the plantation was a more or less isolated miniature society peopled by a social group with a common interest in achieving and maintaining social order.

The localization of life which agricultural pursuits always foster was highly marked in the case of the plantation and led to the development of a distinctive group culture. The plantation was not only a business enterprise but also a homestead, a parish, a school, a recreational center, and a matrimonial bureau. In some parts of the South every large plantation had its distinctive dialect, so that a planter by engaging a Negro in conversation could tell at once who was his owner. Where the plantations and farms were smaller, however, and relations between whites and blacks closer, language assimilation became more complete, and purely local dialects were more or less destroyed.

In the small and intimate world of the plantation the assimilation of the African slaves took place rapidly and automatically.

Although merchants, in selling new Negroes, invariably advertised the tribe or the geographic section from which the Negroes came, it is interesting that none of these facts were mentioned in selling seasoned slaves. It would seem that tribal differences tended to disappear as the slaves became seasoned. (*Guion G. Johnson, p. 33*)

Since most slaves were held in small groups, their contact with their white masters was close. This facilitated their acculturation, especially in the case of the house servants. In areas dominated by the large estates contacts between the whites and blacks were more impersonal, and assimilation was naturally less complete. In

general, the plantation served as a sort of compulsory initiation into higher culture. This was facilitated by the conditions under which slavery was established in America: the dispersal of the members of a given tribe, accentuated by the domestic slave trade, precluded the perpetuation of African culture. The African family and clan organization was disrupted, the communal life and free use of land were impossible, the power of the chief was transferred to the master, the African language survived only in occasional words and phrases, and African religion was transformed, with the slave preacher replacing to some extent the African medicine man. It is only in religion and in song and dance that Africanisms can be found to any extent. It is to other parts of the New World where assimilation was less complete that one must look for African survivals. They may be seen in the religion of the Coastal and Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana, in the fetish cults of Brazil and Cuba, and in the voodoo rites of the Haitians, to cite the outstanding instances.

THE DOMESTIC SLAVE TRADE

The expansion of the plantation system along with the curtailment of importations from Africa led to the development of the domestic slave trade in the United States. The heyday of this trade occurred in the period from 1815 to 1860. The greatest demand came from the lower South and the Southwest where new lands were being converted into cotton plantations. The increasing demand and the limited supply led to an inflation of prices. There occurred a feverish desire to buy slaves to the limit of possible credit and in the spirit of speculation. Planters were impatient to mortgage their crops to buy more slaves to make more cotton to buy more slaves. Slaves came to be popularly considered the standard of value and prosperity, at once the safest investment and the most profitable speculation. They became the criterion of riches and of social status. Slaves, especially girls and young women, because of prospective increase, were considered the best investment for persons of small means and for trust funds for widows and orphans.

The domestic slave trade was first developed in Maryland and Virginia and extended to the Carolinas, Kentucky, and Missouri, and the latter became the chief exporting states. The main importing states were Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, Ar-

kansas, and Texas. The principal trading centers in the exporting states were Baltimore, Washington, Richmond, Norfolk, and Charleston, while the outstanding marts in the newer areas were Montgomery, Memphis, and New Orleans.

The rearing of slaves for sale occurred all over the South, but it was particularly characteristic of Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky, where their ordinary labor was least remunerative. Slave rearing early became the source of the largest and often the only regular profit of many slaveholding farmers and planters in the upper South. Some of the slaves bred for the market were mulattoes, who usually brought top prices as house servants.

The slave trade was partly systematic, partly casual. For local sales every public auctioneer handled slaves along with other property, and in each city there were brokers buying them to sell again or handling them on commission. Some of the dealers used public jails, taverns, and warehouses for the assembling of their slaves while others had stockades of their own. Regular cargoes or coffles of slaves sold "down the river," especially to Natchez and New Orleans, were transported in chained gangs. Higher prices were generally brought by artisans and servants than by field hands. In some instances a specialized trade in slave girls and young women for concubinage occurred, with leading centers in New Orleans and Lexington. Purchases for this purpose were not common, although concubinage itself was fairly frequent, particularly in southern Louisiana.

The separation of families was common, since neither marriage nor fatherhood among slaves was legally recognized and since the legal prohibitions against dividing families were very slight. Whatever recognition family relations received was with few exceptions voluntary. Louisiana, least American of the Southern states, was least inhuman. The separation of families was much deplored by many of the best Southerners and denied by few except as to their own practice. Interested persons easily satisfied themselves that slaves were almost indifferent to separations, but this was refuted by the use of handcuffs by new purchasers, by chain gangs of the interstate traders, and by thousands of advertisements telling that runaways were supposed to have returned to their old homes or gone to kindred from whom they had been parted.

Nearly all the Southern states passed laws restricting or for-

bidding the importation of slaves, but this legislation was not entirely consistent and was subject to change. States anxious to restrict the slave trade provided either that no slaves should be imported for sale or for hire or that slaves might be imported only by persons immigrating into the state or by residents bringing their own slaves with them. It was common to provide against the importation of slaves who had been guilty of crimes in other states. This legislation also reflected the desire to restrict the evils of the slave market and of the overseas slave trade while not discouraging the immigration of slaveholders. Laws restricting the importation of slaves were in many cases repealed, particularly toward the latter part of the period.

A restricted kind of slave trading, common in all Southern states, was slave hiring. This practice is also of interest for the light it throws on the institution of slavery. It concerned not the title to the slave but only his or her labor for a definite period or purpose, usually at a specific price. The influences that most often induced the hiring out of slaves were a desire for profit, a dislike to sell, or a wish to retain control over the slave for the latter's good or the master's prestige—for prestige of some degree went with the ownership and the hiring of slaves. In all Southern cities numerous residents, especially children, widows, and maiden ladies, were partly or wholly dependent on what came from hiring out slaves. Many thousands of slaves were annually hired as household servants for private families, boarding houses, and hotels, as wet nurses, as artisans, and as laborers in fields, forests, factories, and mines. Most persons hired slaves because their demand for labor was temporary or because purchase was beyond their means. The fact that the hirer as well as the owner was popularly considered as belonging to the slaveholding class was often influential, because if one neither owned nor hired a slave, one might be called a "poor white." The hirer's interest began and ended with expectations of profit from the slave's services. Self-interest prompted the owner to try to prevent his human property from suffering any physical injury; it was hardly possible to do much more. To the slave the hiring was less objectionable than sale to a bad master but more objectionable than sale to a good master, for the latter brought a comfortable home and lasting associations.

The hirers of slaves often gave them regular tasks which were

counted as the temporary master's minimum return for the price of the hire, and then the laborer was paid on his own account for all that he did in addition. Apart from the strict control, this was almost equivalent to a partial subletting of the slave to himself, and had a similar effect. This situation was a refutation of one of the excuses for slavery—that Negroes would not work except under compulsion. The privileges granted to the hired slave were a means of developing and demonstrating skill, intelligence, and self-reliance—steppingstones to freedom. Indeed, thousands of slaves were enabled to purchase their freedom by this means or to have it bought for them by relatives and friends. This practice occurred chiefly in the border states and especially in Tennessee. It was almost always characteristic of urban slaves—domestic servants, artisans, and factory operatives who could by saving tips and gratuities and by laboring overtime, as it were, realize more than the owner required of them. Slave hiring and self-hire were more characteristic of town than of country. Indeed, urban conditions merely tolerated slavery, never promoted it; urban slaveholders were not complete masters, for slavery in full required a segregation to make the master in effect a magistrate. A townsman's human chattels could not be his subjects, for he had no domain for them to inhabit. There was some opposition to the practice of slave hiring, for it threatened the institution of slavery.

THE FREE NEGRO

Since the very beginning of the importation of Negroes into this country there has existed a class of free Negroes. Until about 1662 this class was recruited solely from released indentured servants; after that time, with the legal development of slavery, solely from manumitted slaves. Although slavery became the presumptive status of every Negro, most of the colonies recognized the status of free Negroes.

The table on p. 34 gives for the country as a whole the free and slave population at each census from 1790 to 1860. The increase in the free Negro population from roughly 60,000 in 1790 to nearly half a million in 1860 came from natural increase and from manumission. There are no data available as to the relative importance of these two factors. Under natural increase we are including (1) children born of free colored persons, (2) mulatto children born of free colored mothers, (3) mulatto chil-

NEGRO POPULATION

Census year	Total	Free		Slave
		Number	Per cent	
1790	757,181	59,557	7.9	697,624
1800	1,002,037	108,435	10.8	893,602
1810	1,377,808	186,446	13.5	1,191,362
1820	1,771,656	233,634	13.2	1,538,022
1830	2,328,642	319,599	13.7	2,009,043
1840	2,873,648	386,293	13.4	2,487,355
1850	3,638,808	434,495	11.9	3,204,313
1860	4,441,830	488,070	11.0	3,953,760

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population 1790-1915*, p. 53.

dren born of white servants or free white women, and (4) children of free Negro and Indian parentage.

Some Negroes were given their freedom by the state because they performed some public service such as military service during the Revolution; but more slaves were freed by their masters. Among the chief causes operating to bring about manumission, either during the lifetime of the owner or after his death, were religious scruples. Still other slaves were manumitted by their masters for personal and sentimental reasons. Still another type of emancipation was the practice alluded to above of allowing slaves to purchase their freedom and occasionally that of their relatives as well.

Often a manumitted Negro would purchase the freedom of the members of his family or of friends, and unless he went through the formality of manumission, these persons were legally his slaves. This situation was undoubtedly the main explanation of the fact that Negroes were reported as among slaveholding families. The Census of 1790 showed 195 Negro slaveholders, 6 of them in New England, 16 in the Middle states, and 173 in the Southern states. There were undoubtedly more, since data were not available for a number of states and territories. It is estimated that in 1860 there were as many as 6,230 Negro slaveholders. The main reason for this practice of free Negroes hold-

ing relatives in a nominal type of slavery is that certain states at certain times passed laws making manumission under any circumstances extremely difficult. It is further suggested by Woodson that some Negroes kept their wives and children in bondage in order to exercise more authority over them. Free Negroes were by law prohibited from owning slaves in Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, and, except for relatives, in Virginia. They were also in the early days prohibited from purchasing white indentured servants.

The tendency to manumission was strongest in the northerly tier of Southern states, where slavery was least profitable. In the decade preceding the Civil War manumissions were fairly numerous and were apparently increasing. The census report of 1860 says that there were 3,000 in the census year alone and that they were double what they had been in 1850. Even with the increased rate of 3,000 manumissions a year in 1860, assuming a stationary population, it would have taken 1,333 years to liberate the 4,000,000 slaves then in the United States. Thus in the absence of any state laws requiring emancipation, it is hard to see how slavery could have been abolished without external pressure.

The free Negro population was concentrated in the Tidewater region of Virginia and Maryland, the Piedmont region of North Carolina and Virginia, the seaboard cities of Charleston, Mobile, and New Orleans, the Northern cities of Boston, New York, Chicago, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, some settlements in the Northwest Territory, and isolated communities of Indians. One of the most striking characteristics of the free Negro communities was the prominence of the mulatto element. About three-eighths of the free Negroes in 1850 were classed as mulattoes whereas only about one-twelfth of the slave population was considered to have mixed blood. The free Negroes tended to become concentrated in the cities, where they were able to enter a variety of occupations that afforded them some degree of economic security and independence, although in the North they found themselves in keen competition with white labor. Many found employment as barbers, cabmen, mechanics, merchants, fishermen, or farmers. A few became slaveholders of plantation scale, although, as we have already noted, most of the slaves owned by free Negroes were their own kindred bought and held merely because the laws forbade manumission without exile.

Free Negroes, concentrated in urban areas, were able to get some formal education, especially in the North, although in many instances they were barred from the public schools there and were under the necessity either of getting their education in the scattered mission schools or of establishing institutions of their own. They ranged in culture, in the words of Phillips, "from serene refinement to sloven superstitious uncouthness."

What of the status of the free Negro during slavery? He had certain privileges under the law such as the right of habeas corpus, the right to hold property and bequeath it, and for a time in some places the right to vote and to trial by jury. There were also laws to protect him, especially against being reduced to slavery. On the other hand, the free Negro constituted a real problem, his status was anomalous and difficult, and he suffered from special disabilities. Where slavery was regarded as permanent, the free Negro was liable to be a constant source of irritation. On the one hand, he might become a charge on the public unless carefully trained to self-support, and on the other hand, he was under suspicion as the possible cause of discontent and even the instigator of revolt among the slaves. Hence legislation concerning free Negroes was universal in the slaveholding states, and as their numbers increased and as the abolition movement gained momentum, the legislation became more and more restrictive. There were laws restricting their immigration, prohibiting their presence at meetings of slaves for fear of instigations to flight or revolt, prohibiting them from carrying firearms, prohibiting them from buying or selling liquor, and imposing on them more severe penalties for crime than were imposed on white people for the same offense, such as corporal punishment, banishment from the state, and being sold into slavery. A number of states refused to admit the testimony of free Negroes in courts of law except against each other, and often slaves and free Negroes were grouped together in one enactment. In general the free Negro was made to feel that he was in an inferior social position. Thus Louisiana in 1806 provided that "Free people of color ought never to insult or strike white people, nor presume to conceive themselves equal to the white, but on the contrary that they ought to yield to them in every occasion, and never speak or answer to them, but with respect." Mississippi in 1822 imposed a penalty of 39 lashes for using abusive language to or assaulting a white

person, except when the assault was committed in self-defense.

Save for the very early years of the republic, there is no evidence of any desire to create a favorable legal status for the free Negro or to fit him to assume the responsibilities of a free man. His subordinate status was clearly defined in law and custom. He was considered a greater potential menace than the slave, and the first effort toward colonization, under the American Colonization Society which came into existence in 1816 and 1817, was the elimination of the free Negro. Furthermore, as Guy B. Johnson remarks (p. 135):

. . . since he was not property and had no master and since he frequently excited the antagonism of the white artisans, mechanics, and tradesmen with whom he competed for a living, he was less likely than the slave to have a friend in time of need, more likely to feel the full force of mob passion when racial conflicts were aroused. His status was indeed prophetic of the situation which would arise when all the slaves were freed.

THE BLACK CODES

While the constitutions laid down the general policy of the Southern states with regard to slavery, the application of these principles was embodied in a voluminous mass of legislation known as the "Black Codes." These codes covered a wide range of topics, some of which we have already discussed, such as the importation of slaves and the domestic slave trade and the status of the free Negro. Other sections undertook to regulate the status of slaves and to deal with offenses on their part, especially flight and rebellion. The codes were most severe in states where the slaves were most numerous, and these codes tended everywhere to grow in severity as the number of slaves increased. Enforcement of the Black Codes was often entrusted to patrols, which were in most cases composed of poor whites who owned no slaves. Sometimes patrols were appointed by the court, sometimes they were self-constituted, and often they were overzealous in performing their duties. Coleman (p. 97) says, "They had a very definite part in keeping the slaves confined to their own plantations and properly intimidated. Negro hunting, Negro catching, Negro watching and Negro whipping constituted the favorite sport of many youthful whites."

The slave was definitely an object of property rights, but the proper classification of slaves as property—real or personal—was a problem which never received a satisfactory solution in Southern legislation. The different states did not pursue a uniform policy, nor were the individual states consistent within themselves.

A common provision in the constitutions of Southern states prohibited compulsory emancipation, that is, the legislature could not emancipate slaves without the consent of their owners. On the other hand, with the exception of Florida, in which a law of 1829 forbade manumission by the owner, on all the territory subsequently covered by the Southern states provision was made for voluntary manumission. In 13 of these states it was made legally difficult; in 7 of them emancipated slaves were not allowed to remain in the state; and in all of them the immigration of freedmen was prohibited. The tendency was steadily away from manumission. No laws encouraging it were passed except early in the period, and with the exception of Missouri all the states which either countenanced or mildly favored freedom passed laws at a later period restricting it.

All the Southern states had special laws relating to crimes committed by the Negroes. A special criminal code was necessary because there were certain crimes such as flight and insurrection peculiar to the status of slaves. Further, the punishments must in the nature of things be different. To be imprisoned or even to work at forced labor was a relatively light penalty to one whose whole life was that of involuntary toil. Imprisonment, moreover, really penalized not so much the slave as the owner. It was, therefore, almost universal to punish slaves by personal chastisement in preference to imprisonment. Flogging was the most common penalty; others were the pillory, cutting off the ears, and, in extreme cases, hanging. As the master's property rights were safeguarded by the substitution of flogging for imprisonment, so in the case of the execution of a slave it was not uncommon to provide that the owner should be compensated for this loss. There were a few cases in which states endeavored to establish a parity between the blacks and the whites with regard to punishment, but, in general, crimes committed by Negroes were punished more severely than the same offenses committed by whites. The list of capital crimes in particular was very much longer in the case of Negroes.

Wherever there is forced labor, there is the ever-present danger that the workers will try to escape or rebel. Hence all the slaveholding states enacted laws relating to these matters. In order to make escape more difficult, many states provided that slaves should not absent themselves from their home plantation or travel without permission. Anyone who helped a slave to run away or gave him asylum after he had escaped was guilty of one of the most serious offenses against property rights, and almost all the states put heavy penalties upon such conduct. Rebellion on the part of slaves endangered the very institution of slavery and was commonly made subject to the death penalty. To incite rebellion was in many cases as serious an offense as to rebel, and 13 states imposed the death penalty for this crime.

A few states, while punishing severely crimes committed by Negroes, tried to protect them against injustice in the courts, and some provided for the economic and physical welfare of Negroes by requiring humane treatment on the part of their masters. The earliest as well as the most comprehensive example of this kind of protection is found in the Louisiana Black Code of 1806, which provided that slaves were not to be worked on Sunday and if worked should be paid; specified in detail the rations to which they were entitled; required certain articles of clothing; required the maintenance of sick and disabled slaves; allowed a half-hour for breakfast and from one and a half to two hours for dinner; provided that disabled slaves were not to be sold at public sales without their children against their will and that children below ten were not to be sold without their mothers; and, finally, provided that any person might lodge a complaint before a justice on behalf of an abused slave, and justices of the peace were authorized to keep themselves informed regarding the treatment of slaves in their districts and to enforce the act. Ten states legislated to protect slaves against ill-treatment on the part of their owners; in six states provision was made for suitable food and clothing.

Finally, the Black Codes contained many provisions setting forth special disabilities of the slave. His general status was well defined by the Louisiana code of 1806 which read: "The condition of a slave being merely a passive one, his subordination to his master and to all who represent him is not susceptible to any modification or restriction. . . . He owes his master and family

a respect without bounds, and absolute obedience, and is to execute all orders." The general denial of free initiative which this definition implies was not thought sufficient, and not a few laws were passed in the slaveholding states forbidding to the slave certain activities conceded to the free man, such as the right to trade, to own and cultivate property, to appear as a witness, to carry arms, to travel, and to read. A common restriction forbade owners to allow slaves to hire out on their own time for the reasons that the slaves came into competition with white mechanics and became too independent and the practice tended to pave the way to manumission. These laws were difficult to enforce, however, since the master could often make money out of a slave by letting him work for himself. It was common to prohibit slaves from being witnesses against white people, though most of the laws provided that they might give testimony in court against slaves or free Negroes. The inability of the subordinate race to testify against the dominant race made harsh treatment and brutal punishments possible. According to Coleman, this was probably "the darkest feature of the so-called Black Code." To prevent running away and insurrection slaves were prohibited from carrying firearms; restrictions, as has been mentioned, were put upon their movements; assemblies of Negroes were forbidden; preaching by Negroes was limited; and their education was forbidden. Laws intended to prevent their instruction were passed in about half of the Southern states. Most of these were enacted after 1830 in consequence of Turner's Rebellion. Miscegenation was not as commonly prohibited as we should expect in view of the racial antagonisms of the South. Laws against miscegenation are recorded in only five out of the fifteen slave states, possibly because the colonial laws still held and did not have to be re-enacted.

SLAVERY AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

To the slave trader, who had only an economic interest in the slave, the Negro was a mere utility, but where master and slave had to live together and carry on some form of co-operation, the human nature of the slave had to be taken into account. Consequently, slavery developed into a social as well as an economic and legal institution. The actual position of the slave in the little world of the plantation was never in actual harmony with his

legal status in the world outside. In the first place, the actual enforcement of the law differed from the statement of the law. When times were quiet, as they generally were, burdensome statutes were conveniently forgotten. Patrol duty was widely evaded; hundreds, perhaps thousands, of slaves were taught their letters; frequently they traveled the roads and assembled for religious and other purposes. In the second place, there was the control of custom, which took the form of a code of etiquette regulating the personal relations of both races. The lives of the white master class were intertwined with those of the black slaves. Social control was not simply a matter of force and coercion but depended upon a system of etiquette based upon sentiments of superordination on the one hand and of submission and loyalty on the other. As R. E. Park stated in his introduction to Doyle's study of *The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South*,

The regime of slavery, constantly threatened from without, was at the same time steadily undermined and weakened from within; weakened by the claims of the slave, on the one hand, and the conscience of the master, on the other. . . . The intimate association of master and slave may be said steadily to have corrupted the institution of slavery, and in so doing hastened it on its course to its predestined extinction.

Thus slavery was essentially a human institution, and as such it was no better and no worse than the individuals with whose lives it was inseparably associated. Even in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* at least three different conditions of slavery are pictured: that in a border state (Kentucky) where with some exceptions the slave was treated kindly and even in a friendly manner; that in a far Southern city (New Orleans) where he was spoiled by indulgence; and that in the cotton plantations in the backwoods where he was treated cruelly and where the owner worked him until he dropped and then "restocked" on the principle that this was good business. Although there were cases of extreme cruelty, there were also instances of the greatest consideration and affection. For example, Raper (p. 24) reports how a Macon County, Georgia, planter standing over the open grave of a slave child, sobbed: "I would rather have lost a thousand dollars than that little nigger!" Phillips (*Life and Labor in the Old South*, p. 215) mentions a slab in a South Carolina churchyard which is engraved, "Sacred to the

memory of Bill, a strictly honest and faithful servant . . .," who died the seventh of October, 1854. And on another Southern stone is this epitaph:

John
A Faithful Servant
And True Friend:
Kindly, and Considerate:
Loyal, and Affectionate:
The Family He Served
Honours Him in Death:
But, in Life, They Gave Him Love:
For He Was One of Them.

Individual differences among slaves were recognized, and those who were considered more or less as a part of the family were given titles of respect, such as "Mammy," "Uncle," or "Uncle Jim."

The closeness of relation between master and slave was limited, however, to the resident plantation and the farm where the number of slaves was small and slavery was more of a domestic than a commercial institution. On the larger plantations employing overseers, relations tended to be less personal and sympathetic. In general, the more the overseer was in power, the more discordant race relations were. The almost universal testimony of planters who had occasion to refer to overseers was that they were dishonest, self-indulgent, cruel, and irresponsible. Former slaves who have written about their experiences confirm this opinion. As a rule overseers were crude in manner, barely literate, of mediocre ability, capable only of ruling slaves by severity in a rule-of-thumb routine, and they needed fairly constant oversight by their employers.

Beneath the surface of mutual adjustment, good will, and a high degree of co-operation, there was, nevertheless, a subtle play of friction. No system of human relationships which is based on the subordination of one group or race to another can operate with perfect smoothness. Certain types of behavior on the part of the slaves—insolence, insubordination, and insurrection—produced conflicts. Disobedience, refusal to work, sulking, absence without leave, running away, and other practices were in a sense the slaves' weapons against harsh or misunderstanding masters and their way of "disciplining" their owners. Except for those serious offenses

which were recognized as crimes against the state, the slave-owner had jurisdiction over the punishment of his slaves. This means that white people during the long period of slavery became accustomed to the idea of regulating Negro insolence and insubordination by force with the consent and approval of the law. Mob action, however, rarely occurred until toward the close of the period. In the decade of 1850 to 1860, of 46 Negroes executed for the murder of masters or overseers, 26 were summarily executed; and of 17 Negroes put to death for rape or attempted rape, 12 were killed by mobs. It was not until Reconstruction and later that the custom of lynching Negroes became virtually institutionalized.

REACTION OF THE NEGRO TO SLAVERY

For his part the Negro in general accommodated himself to slavery. He frequently took pride in his "family connections" and looked down on other slaves of lower estate; he was loyal to his community and adopted social usages more or less imitative of the white masters, including social distinctions in his own world. On the other hand he by no means accepted slavery passively but waged a continuous struggle against it. He employed sabotage, engaged in strikes, committed suicide, mutilated himself, ran away, turned guerrilla, struck at his master through arson and murder, and attempted organized uprisings. His most effective revolt against slavery was not fighting but running away, usually to the North.

Although the problem of fugitives existed from the earliest days of slavery, slaves began to escape in considerable numbers only after the beginning of the nineteenth century. Four main paths were followed in the Underground Railroad system: one led southward along the coast from Norfolk, Virginia, to the northern borders of Florida, which gave rise to the Negro element among the Seminole Indians; a second along the Appalachian range was the safest path northward; a third route led through Tennessee and Kentucky and the heart of the Cumberland Mountains; and the valley of the Mississippi was the western tunnel.

The very nature of the institution prevents any accurate statement of the number of slaves who found freedom via the Underground Railroad. Franklin (*From Slavery to Freedom*, pp. 255-256) cites Governor Quitman of Mississippi as declaring that between 1810 and 1850 the South lost 100,000 slaves through

flight. "This is a much larger figure than the census gives for Negroes in the North who were born in the slaveholding states, but Professor Siebert believes that it is fairly accurate. He is certain, for example, that approximately 40,000 passed through Ohio alone." Virtually all the plantations whose records are available suffered more or less from truancy, and the abundance of newspaper advertisements for fugitives and of handbills offering rewards for the return of runaway slaves reinforces the impression that the need of deterrence was vital. Whippings proved no cure; adequacy in food, clothing, and shelter might be of no avail for contentment must be mental as well as physical.

A Negro had made his way by the underground railway to Ohio. He was brought into the presence of a certain kindhearted official, who, assuming a stern air, inquired, "Sam, why did you run away? Wasn't your master kind to you?"

"Yes, boss, Massa was kind."

"Didn't you have enough to eat?"

"Yes, boss, had plenty to eat."

"Well, did you have to work too hard?"

"No, didn't have to work too hard."

"Why, then, did you run away? If your master was kind, you had plenty to eat, and were not overworked, why did you leave?"

"Well, boss, de place am open if you wants to take it." (*Melden*, p. 147)

The preventives mainly relied upon were holidays and festivities, gifts and payments for overtime work, kindness and care designed to call forth loyalty in return, and the special device of crop patches to give every hand a stake in the plantation.

The most violent reaction to slavery was insurrection. Aptheker mentions the occurrence of at least 200 reported Negro conspiracies and revolts, but actual insurrections were not numerous, and none ever came close to success, though they did occur sporadically throughout the entire slavery period. Between 1664 and 1860 at least fifteen insurrections were actually attempted, and at least fourteen others were foiled through the discovery of the conspiracies, largely through the disclosures made by loyal slaves. Only three insurrections were of significant proportions, namely Gabriel's Insurrection (led by Gabriel Prosser) in Virginia in 1800, the Denmark Vesey Insurrection in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1822, and the Nat Turner Insurrection in Southampton

County, Virginia, in 1831. Nevertheless, the attempts at insurrection were frequent enough to keep the South in constant fear and to create a real problem of slave control. A special police force known as the patrol was demanded, which was made possible by the presence of the poor whites who outnumbered the slaves. This explains the difference between the slave revolts in the West Indies and the lack of effective revolt in the southern United States.

The greatest and most successful slave revolt—a sort of general strike against slavery—occurred during the War between the States, which provided an exceptional opportunity for flight and which was aided and abetted by the Union government and army. According to Wiley's authoritative account, as the war began, the seceded states, far from relying upon slave loyalty, immediately strengthened the patrol laws. Fear of Negro discontent induced planters to increase slave rations and supplies. Picket lines were frequently doubled to prevent slaves from escaping to the Union army. The cry "Yankees coming!" was a signal for a wholesale exodus of slaves to the enemy. Although numerous body servants revealed great fidelity to their masters, the majority of slaves were field hands whose loyalty was more than suspect. The Union armies thus obtained many valuable informers and well over 100,000 recruits. Assured by the prospect of early deliverance, the slaves refused in many cases to submit to disciplinary punishment, displayed marked insolence toward their masters, frequently assaulted whites, and occasionally organized insurrections. These occurrences were limited to the invaded areas, where the Negroes were generally faithless and disorderly, although instances of loyal assistance given by the Negro to the slaveholder were not wanting. It was mainly in the interior, where facilities for communication and concerted action were lacking and where the whites maintained control, that the Negro was loyal.

EMANCIPATION AND THE NEW BLACK CODE OF THE SOUTH

The transition from servitude to freedom took place in many localities with scarcely any disturbance to the routine of life established under slavery, but, generally, conditions following the war and the emancipation of the slaves were chaotic. The disorganization and turmoil ensuing as the aftermath of war were enhanced by the mobility and vagrancy of the Negroes. As the old order

crumbled, thousands of Negro men and women began to wander about the country aimlessly or in search of adventure and work. They flocked to the army camps, where they created problems of discipline as well as of health; they crowded into the cities; they congregated in some places in the country, where they killed the cattle and poultry and devastated the cornfields and melon patches. Many understood freedom to mean exemption from work and the ability to roam at will. Many of them, in order fully to demonstrate their freedom, left their own homes. The case is cited of an old cook in the service of a South Carolina family who was put on a wage basis in the summer of 1865. After a time she expressed a desire to go into a town about a mile away to work. The mistress and her family, anxious to keep one who was such a good cook and who had been with them so long, offered to raise her wages to almost twice the amount she would receive in town. The old ex-slave, having offered one evasive excuse after another, finally said, "No, Miss, I must go. If I stays here, I'll never know I'm free." Often wives and children were left behind or else they, like the men, wandered off by themselves. Family and sex relations were demoralized. Disorder and demoralization were widespread. When the yoke of slavery was lifted, the drifting masses were left without any restraint upon their vagrant impulses and wild desires. The old intimacy between master and slave, upon which the moral order under the slave regime had rested, was destroyed forever.

The need of exercising some authority over the ignorant and vagrant freedmen, coupled with the necessity of defining the changed status of the Negro due to the abolition of slavery by the Thirteenth Amendment (1865), gave rise to a series of laws which may be termed the "New Black Code" of the South. After Reconstruction, when political power was restored to the South, other legislation was passed in an attempt to regulate race relations, which we will consider later under the civil and political rights of the Negro today. Here we are concerned with the situation immediately following the war.

The New Black Codes said in general that the statutes and regulations concerning slaves were now inapplicable to persons of color, and although such persons were not entitled to social or political equality with white persons, they should have the right to acquire, own, and dispose of property, to make contracts, to

enjoy the fruits of their labor, to sue and be sued, and to receive protection under the law in their persons and property. Generally, Negroes were prohibited or limited in their ownership of firearms, however, and sometimes their right of buying and selling property was limited as to land.

Under the new codes the marriage of Negroes was for the first time recognized in the Southern states, and slave marriages were legalized. Under slavery marriage as a civil ordinance did not exist, since the slave could make no contract. The slave could not be legally married, therefore, nor could he be prosecuted for adultery or bigamy. There was, of course, much promiscuity, but there were many slaves who lived together as man and wife. Although such slave marriages were not legal, on some plantations ceremonies were performed usually by a colored preacher or the master and sometimes by the quaint ceremony of "jumping over the broomstick." This relationship was not a very stable one, for the man and woman were sometimes torn apart at the will of a master who found it to his advantage to sell one without the other. Moreover, such marriages, not being legal contracts, might be dissolved without recourse to public tribunals; only the master's consent was required, and this was doubtless not hard to get. In some instances a slave would "take up with" a man or woman on some adjoining plantation. These unions were more ephemeral. In regard to the free Negroes before the war, the laws pertaining to their marriage were the same as those for the whites, although their enforcement was probably lax.

Under the New Black Code all the Southern legislatures enacted statutes providing that all former slaves then cohabiting as man and wife should be considered as lawfully wedded couples. The offspring of these unions were legitimated and were then capable of inheriting property. The laws were not all alike—some states required the remarriage of those who had been living together as man and wife, in others such unions were legalized by granting certificates, and in still others legalized wholesale by statute—but the essentials were very similar. With the exception of Florida and Louisiana these statutes were not intended to apply to interracial cohabitations but only to those unions where the parties had been prevented from marrying by the laws or customs of slavery.

The roots of the family institution among American Negroes today go back not to African traditions and customs, which were

almost completely effaced under slavery conditions, but to the slave family as it developed on the plantation and to the free Negro family which developed outside the slave system. Although the slave family had no basis in legality, it represented on the whole an adjustment to the slave system. The institution of marriage and the family among the free Negroes was patterned after that of the whites, and in the numerous urban settlements of free Negroes families were founded with a tradition of stability and achievement coming down to the present.

Of the restrictive measures under the New Black Codes, the most important were the apprenticeship and vagrancy laws, which tended to re-establish the old master-slave relationship under a new name. Under them the Negro had to have a license naming his home and employment; his labor contracts for a term of more than a month had to be in writing; if he violated them, he was guilty of a criminal offense; if he had no lawful employment, he was declared a vagrant and subject to fine; if he could not pay his fine, he had to work it out for the white man who paid it; and orphans and dependent children were bound out to whites until of age. Some of these statutes were later declared unconstitutional as they failed to give the same protection to Negro apprentices that was given to whites and enforced involuntary servitude. Congress thereupon enacted statutes proscribing peonage, which has been defined by the courts as a condition of compulsory service based on the indebtedness of the victim. It was thought in the North, and not without reason, that the apprentice and vagrancy laws were merely an attempt to perpetuate slavery in a different guise; however, it should be recognized that the South was faced with a serious situation arising from the chaotic conditions that followed the war. The New Black Codes had a great deal to do with the rise of the radical elements in Congress and hence were to some extent responsible for the dark blot of Reconstruction.

THE NEGRO AND RECONSTRUCTION

The official program, representing the Northern point of view, of aiding the Negro to readjust to the new conditions following emancipation was embodied in the Freedmen's Bureau, which was in existence from 1865 to 1870. To it was committed the control of all subjects relating to refugees and freedmen. Like the Bureau

of Indian Affairs, it was to act as guardian of the freedmen, to aid them in their first steps in self-support, to furnish supplies, supervise their contracts to labor, provide for their education, safeguard their health, incite them to good habits, and protect them against the whites. Herculean tasks faced the bureau: it had to make a general survey of conditions and needs in every state, to relieve immediate hunger and distress, to put the laborers to work at regular wages, to furnish land for the peasant, to open schools, to establish hospitals, to guard health, and to administer justice between man and former master.

The first problem facing the freedmen was that of finding food and shelter. The Freedmen's Bureau, under the law of 1865, sought to meet this problem by offering to freedmen on easy terms the abandoned farms and plantations in the conquered territory. This offer was eagerly seized upon, and there sprang up along the Mississippi, in Louisiana, and on the coasts of the Carolinas and in Georgia, series of leased plantations under government direction. When the Freedmen's Bureau took charge, it received nearly 800,000 acres of such land and 5,000 pieces of town property from the leasing of which a revenue of nearly \$400,000 was received from freedmen. The policy of President Johnson, however, soon put an end to this method of furnishing land to the landless. His proclamation of amnesty practically restored the bulk of this seized property to its former owners, and within a few years the black tenants were dispossessed or became laborers. The next and last wholesale attempt to place land within the reach of the emancipated slaves was the act of 1866, which opened to both white and black settlers the public lands of the Gulf states. But since lack of capital and tools and the opposition of the whites made it impossible for many Negroes to take advantage of this opening, only about 4,000 families were thus provided for. Thus the efforts to provide the freedmen with land and tools ended, and by 1870 he was left to shift for himself amid new and dangerous social surroundings.

Since many Negroes expected, in the light of all the promises made, that the government would furnish them all with 40 acres and a mule, it became easy to defraud them. A common method of swindling the Negroes, according to Fleming, was to sell them little striped pegs about the size of the stakes used in the game of croquet. The Negro was told that, if he would take four of these

stakes and mark off 40 acres on his former owner's plantation, the part enclosed would then belong to him. The nominal charge was a dollar a peg. A pretended deed for land, given with one set of stakes, was in part as follows: "Know all men by these presents, that a nought is a nought and a figure is a figure; all for the white man and none for the nigure. And whereas Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so also have I lifted this d—d old nigger out of four dollars and six bits. Amen! Selah!" The peg-selling swindle lasted intermittently for about ten years.

The judicial work of the Freedmen's Bureau consisted in protecting the Negro from violence, outrage, and serfdom, in defending his right to hold property, and in enforcing his contracts. It undertook to see that Negroes had fair trials and that their testimony was received. Freedmen's courts and boards of arbitration were organized when needed. The bureau also undertook to furnish day and night schools, industrial schools, and colleges. In this it did an excellent job. Between June 1, 1865, and Sept. 1, 1871, \$5,262,511.26 was spent on schools from bureau funds, and in 1870 there were in day and night schools 3,300 teachers and 149,581 pupils. Nearly all the present Negro universities and colleges like Howard, Fisk, and Atlanta were founded or substantially aided in their earliest days by the Freedmen's Bureau. The Freedmen's Bureau did an extraordinary piece of work, but this was only a small and imperfect part of what it might have done if it had been made a permanent institution, given ample funds for operating schools and purchasing land, and if it had been gradually manned by trained civilian administrators.

The change in the South from 1865 to 1870 through the changed condition of the Negro was one of the most violent reforms that has ever occurred in so short a period. In 1867 under the leadership of such radicals as Stevens and Sumner the Congressional plan of Reconstruction was adopted. The South was divided into five military districts with a military governor over each. Each state was to call a convention, the delegates to which were to be chosen by the suffrage of all citizens regardless of color, with the exception of those disfranchised for rebellion. If the state revised its constitution and adopted the Fourteenth Amendment guaranteeing to the Negro citizenship and the privileges and immunities thereof, together with the equal protection of the laws and the right not to be deprived of life, liberty, or property by any state

without due process of law, it was to be readmitted into the Union. The Fourteenth Amendment was ratified in 1868. In 1870 the Fifteenth Amendment—to prevent Negro suffrage from being stricken from the state constitutions—became effective, and the last of the seceding states was readmitted to the Union.

Meantime affairs in the South were in the hands of the military authority. Negro suffrage was established but only through military force. The political history of the South at this time was one of corruption of the worst kind. The administration of civil law was only partly re-established, and there was much disorder and violence. Political power was in the hands of Northern carpet-baggers, Southern scalawags (poor whites), and Negroes. At no time did the Negroes control altogether any state government. Only in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana, where the Negroes outnumbered the whites and Federal control was especially effective, did the Negroes exercise much power. In various states Negroes were elected to political offices such as Lieutenant Governor, Speaker of the House, Secretary of State, State Auditor, State Superintendent of Education, and Justice of a State Supreme Court. Negroes acted as governors in Mississippi and Louisiana. They also gained representation in Congress, which they held until the end of the century. In the period from 1870 to 1901, 20 Negroes served in the House of Representatives and two in the Senate. Both the Senators were from Mississippi. The Representatives were distributed as follows: eight from South Carolina, four from North Carolina, three from Alabama, and one each from Virginia, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, and Mississippi. With one exception there was at least one Negro in every Congress during this period. The eight states from which Negro Congressmen were elected were those with the highest proportion of Negroes in the population, ranging from three-eighths to more than one-half. Of the 22 Negroes who served in Congress, 4 were pure Negro and 18 were of mixed blood; 10 had college training (of whom 5 were graduates) and the education of 12 was secondary school or less; 6 were lawyers, 3 preachers, 4 farmers, 2 public officials, and the other 7 represented the occupations of teacher, barber, bricklayer, tailor, shipping clerk, pilot, and liveryman; 13 had previously been slaves and 9 were free born. These Negroes were as a whole superior to those of their race who took a contemporary part in local and state government.

With the rise of the so-called Solid South at the end of the century, Negroes in the South lost their representation not only in Congress but in the state legislatures as well, and they ceased to participate in any effective way in local politics. Although mistakes were made by these early Negro officeholders and although some, as among the whites, were ignorant and vicious, they were not as insolent, unprincipled, and corrupt as they have been pictured. Nor were they primarily responsible for the waste and corruption in the South at that time. On the contrary, aided by the carpetbaggers and scalawags, they took definite steps toward the establishment of universal suffrage and public education and toward the betterment of labor conditions.

It was during Reconstruction that the Ku Klux Klan came into existence as a device to restrain the blacks and to punish those whites who incited them to outrages. The Klan was started in 1866 in Pulaski, Giles County, Tennessee, as a secret society for the purpose of diversion and amusement. The organizers were a group of young men who drew on their imaginations and on their acquaintance with college fraternities. The name was derived from the Greek *kyklos*, band or circle, to which "klan" was added. The mystery connected with the meaningless and alliterative name gave it a peculiar potency. Amusement was the end kept in view, but the methods by which it was to be attained were those of secrecy and mystery. The bizarre costume of the order was adopted at this time: white mask, tall cardboard hat, and long gown or robe. The first den was in the law office of a member of the Pulaski bar, where the suggestion for the formation of the Klan had been made. Later the meeting place was on the outskirts of the town in an old ruin. Membership increased rapidly, for the young men of the South returning from war were unemployed and had no capital with which to start in business; also, they found it difficult to settle down to a routine life, and at the same time amusements and social diversions were lacking.

From Tennessee the Klan spread to other parts of the South, and in 1867 it was transformed into a band of regulators, not unlike the regulative type of secret society indigenous to West Africa. The change in purpose arose from its discovery that it was a powerful device for controlling ignorant and superstitious Negroes and for preserving peace and order. It undertook then to suppress lawlessness and protect property. In accordance with

this new purpose the Klan was reorganized at a grand convention held in Nashville in 1867. The territory covered by the Klan was called the Invisible Empire. This was divided into Realms, corresponding to states, these into Dominions comparable to congressional districts, these into Provinces or counties, and these into local Dens. The officers were the Grand Wizard of the Empire and his ten Genii, the Grand Dragon of the Realm and his eight Hydras, the Grand Titan of the Dominion and his six Furies, the Grand Giant of the Province and his four Goblins, the Grand Cyclops of the Den and his two Night Hawks. The Klan's principles were declared to be loyalty to the United States government and opposition to lawlessness and violence of every kind. The essential features of mystery and secrecy were retained, but the Klan now courted publicity.

It set out in particular to regulate the Union League, an organization with colored members, led by carpetbaggers and scalawags—this in a land where for years the fear of slave insurrection had been in the back of nearly every mind. The Klan did check the lawlessness of the Negroes, and in justification of the devices used it may be said that this was the only way at the time by which they could be controlled. It was also an effective device, though extra-legal, for curtailing the excesses of irresponsible whites. On the other hand, at least in some places a primary motive for Klan activities was the desire of the lower class whites to remove the Negro as a competitor in labor and especially in the renting of land.

The Klan at first exercised a wholesome influence, but the good effect was short-lived. It led simply to further violence and lawlessness. The order contained within itself sources of weakness in that it placed in the hands of its own members the facility to commit deeds of violence for the gratification of personal feeling and have them credited to the Klan. Moreover, many outsiders assumed the guise of the Klan and committed depredations. Secrecy was the strength of the Klan as long as it was conjoined with mystery, but when the masks and disguises ceased to be mysterious, secrecy became its greatest weakness.

In 1868 the Tennessee legislature passed a stringent anti-Klan statute. In some parts of the South a reign of terror had ensued, necessitating the calling-out of troops. In 1869 the Grand Wizard issued a proclamation to the effect that the order had in large

measure accomplished its objects, but since some members had violated orders and many outsiders had committed crimes that were fastened upon it, he therefore declared the organization dissolved and disbanded. Congress investigated the Klan activities and recorded a great deal of lawlessness during the period 1866 to 1871. A part of this lawlessness may justly be attributed to the Klan, although the greater part of the outrageous conduct belongs to a date subsequent to its disbandment. It has been suggested that a fitting epitaph for the Klan of Reconstruction days would be: Its birth was an accident, its growth a comedy, and its death a tragedy.

Reconstruction was in a sense a prolonged race riot. The number of Negroes killed during Reconstruction will never be known; 5,000 has been suggested as a conservative estimate. Even if the abolition of slavery had come gradually and there had been no war, there would still have been racial conflict during the period of readjustment. War, destruction, defeat, hysteria—all immensely aggravated the situation. To a certain extent the Negro served as a scapegoat for in addition to being the immediate fact at issue, he was the only really practical victim. The defeated South could not avenge itself directly against the North, nor could it on any extended scale vent its hostility on the carpet-baggers and scalawags, but it could strike at both indirectly by terrorizing the Negroes. One of the more spectacular results of the racial conflicts of Reconstruction days was the extension and fixation of the pattern of violence as a means of maintaining the subordination of the Negro. The race problem as such became important only after Emancipation and Reconstruction, and this period marked the coming to power of the nonpropertied and long-suppressed poor whites of the South. It was during this time that the "Solid South" and "white supremacy" were born. There followed a period of bitter open competition, of widespread lynching, and of legal discrimination that lasted into the twentieth century.

Slavery meant a system of restraint. It developed industry and discipline but no responsibility or foresight or education. It did not prepare the Negro for emancipation and independence. Nor were the freedmen given adequate help and supervision in adjusting themselves to their new status. Obviously, the former slaves needed educational, industrial, civic, and other training before

they could qualify for a full role in American Society. By law the Negro was changed at once from slave to freeman, with full rights of citizenship. Actually he was transferred from slavery to serfdom or a kind of second-class citizenship. The control of the mores and the realities of the situation proved to be stronger than legal enactments. Despite the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, the Negro today is still struggling to secure and maintain the rights guaranteed to him.

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CHAPTER 3

FROM SLAVERY TO TENANCY

THE EFFECT OF THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY ON THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CLASS STRUCTURE OF THE SOUTH

The plantation, we have seen, played a dominant role in old Southern society. It was mainly responsible not only for the general status of Negroes but for the class system that developed among the whites. With the abolition of slavery, new economic conditions arose and a new grouping of classes occurred. Such changes have had a profound effect on race relations and the status of the Negro in the South since emancipation.

In the prewar South, society did not consist of just two classes, white masters and Negro slaves; it was more complex. As functioning groups in the organized economic life of the time were planters, yeoman farmers, and Negro slaves. Outside of the system were the poor whites and the free Negroes. According to the Census of 1860, there were nearly four million Negro slaves and about 260,000 free Negroes in the 15 states designated as the South. Of the white population, numbering somewhat over seven million, it is estimated that approximately three-fourths had no direct property interest in slaves. Moreover, of the slaveholding minority not all belonged to the planter class. If, following Phillips (*Life and Labor in the Old South*, p. 339), we take twenty slaves to be roughly a minimum for the plantation method, it appears that the planter class numbered less than a quarter of a million souls in the 15 commonwealths, and they constituted only 3 per cent of the total white population. This estimate is obtained by taking the 46,274 heads of families reported in the Census of 1860 as holding twenty or more slaves each and by assuming that five persons on an average constitute a family.

The differentiation of the originally fairly homogeneous white population into the several classes was a product largely of the plantation system—raising on a large scale staple crops by means of slave labor—with which the farmers and smallholders could not

compete. Since the plantation system led to soil exhaustion, the planters constantly shifted to new lands, leaving in their wake old fields promising little or nothing to those who expended labor upon them. As the plantation system spread—and during most of the prewar period the South was only a few steps removed from the frontier stage—the planters got possession of most of the good lands, leaving the less desirable and the worn-out for a few of the smallholders and the poor whites. Thus the planters competed with the small farmers, and this made the slave an agent in the competition, while the dispossessed whites of the plantation area were prevented from developing into a manual-labor class by the competition of slave labor. The net effect was to impoverish the mass of the Southern people.

A devastating picture of the injury done to the great mass of white Southerners by the institution of slavery was presented in a book published in 1857, entitled *The Impending Crisis of the South*, written by Hinton R. Helper, who came from a smallholder family in North Carolina. The volume created a tremendous sensation, and there is reason to believe it alarmed the slaveholders more than did *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

Some of the yeoman farmers, owning a few slaves, managed to hold on to good land alongside the planters and were fairly well to do, while others who worked their own crops cultivated the inferior cotton lands which the planters found it uneconomic to cultivate with slave labor. The majority of them, however, were established outside the areas of the large plantations on lands which, while reckoned as of no account for cotton, were fertile enough for other purposes. For the most part, these farmers earned their living exclusively by the toil of their own hands and those of the members of the family. Though poor compared even to the smaller planters, they were thrifty and independent.

The original "cracker" was a yeoman farmer, and not a poor white, as the term has come to signify. State Reinhardt and Van Royen:

He lived in the upland sandy regions, raised a bale or two of cotton, had a small flock of sheep, a few cows, some hogs, maybe two or three slaves. He grew enough foodstuff to feed his family. . . . He rarely had more than five dollars in cash, lived in a closed economy, hated Negroes, and boasted of his imaginary independence.

Later the term "cracker" came to be applied to the miserably poor white people in the same region, even to the "white trash" and "po' buckra" of the Negroes, although these terms and epithets were not always used with discrimination.

Another type of farmer comprised the mountaineers—descendants of pioneers who did not complete their westward march but settled in the areas of the Appalachian Mountains more difficult of access where they lived in great isolation in a "land of do-without." The peculiar mode of life of this group, which still prevails with little change in the less accessible parts of the region, has been caused principally by the mountainous milieu. According to Den Hollander (p. 426), the use of the expression "poor whites" for the mountaineers is generally censured. "They usually possess a pride and rugged independence that is not a part of the 'poor-white' pattern. They may submit to being called 'hillbillies,' a term denoting isolation, poverty, and the absence of 'book l'arnin',' but they would angrily resent 'poor-white.'" They belonged to the large class of farmers who were poor and white but not "poor white" in the limited sense of this term—indigent, shiftless, and generally inferior.

There is a classical notion in the South that the poor whites belonged to a totally different stock from the run of Southerners and particularly from the ruling class. The saying "once a poor white, always a poor white" was true enough to lead to the widespread assumption that here was a special breed of Southerner with biologically determined characteristics, and the attempt was made to explain his origin from the convict servants and redemptioners of early days. More accurately, the poor whites were simply the residue of the generally homogeneous population of the eighteenth century—the less successful, thrifty, industrious, ambitious, and lucky. They were the weaker elements who, having failed in the competition of the cotton frontier, or perhaps having never entered it, were driven back to the red hills, the sandlands, the pine barrens, and the swamps—in short, to the marginal lands of the South. They were the victims of poverty and poor land, of malaria and hookworm, about whom the Negroes used to sing:

You can't make a livin'
On sandy lan';
I'd ruther be a nigger
Than a po' white man.

By some the term "poor white" is thought to have originated in the slaves' use of the expression "poor white trash." But more accurately speaking, the latter term referred in the Old South to degenerate whites living mainly within the plantation areas. They were stranded creatures forced by slave-labor competition and incompetency into a wretched and impoverished condition.

On their infertile lands the poor whites lived near the edge of subsistence by means of a primitive, unorganized, individual type of economy, hunting, fishing, raising meager crops and a few hogs to furnish a supply of salt pork and side meat. They were characterized by "their sickly and slovenly appearance, habitual drinking, tobacco chewing, utter ignorance, strange dialect, inert behavior, and such strange proclivities as clay sucking, resin chewing, and snuff dipping" (Den Hollander, p. 412). They had nothing to sell except their labor, and the market for that was closed to them almost completely by the presence of Negro slaves. The great preponderance of nonfree labor coupled with the custom of hiring out slave artisans prevented the establishment of a regular wage system which would have provided a means for the poor whites to enter into the organized economic life. They had just one distinction to gratify their vanity—they belonged to the dominant white race. The free Negroes, who were also outside the economic system, had to compete with both the poor whites and the Negro slaves.

The Civil War brought about vast changes in the South in the arrangement of classes, the accumulation and distribution of wealth, and the course of industrial development. The old classes of planters, yeoman farmers, and poor whites were replaced by the new economic groupings of upper, middle, and lower, each with an urban and industrial branch as well as an agricultural. With the rise of industry and commerce, especially after the turn of the century, a new class of leaders came into existence, recruited in large part from the planters who moved into the rising cities. Simultaneously there developed a middle class of small property owners and traders, skilled artisans and foremen, school-teachers, clerks, and white-collar people generally. The development of industry led to the establishment of a wage-earning class, drawn primarily from the poor whites, who now for the first time entered the organized economic life of the South. They also found a place within the agricultural system as farm tenants and laborers.

With the abolition of slavery the Negroes found a wider opportunity for development. The educated Negroes sought the professions or established business enterprises catering mainly to their own group. The artisans were projected into the free labor market as competitors with white men. The major portion of the Negro labor supply, however, was shunted away from the emerging industrial development into agriculture and domestic service.

The majority of both whites and Negroes have remained in agriculture, and there the competition which has always existed has for the first time become open and direct. Interracial competition for the land has appeared on two levels. On the lower economic level the common white man of the South now competes with the freedman for a place as agricultural laborer and share-cropper; and on a new higher level the Negro now competes for a place on the land as owner. White tenants have increased steadily, filling the new openings in the expanding cotton culture and taking places left vacant by Negroes who migrated from the plantations to Northern or Southern cities, until they have come to outnumber the Negro tenants. The antagonism of the poor whites against the Negroes has increased and has been made effective through the former's increased political importance.

As a result of the various social and economic changes that have come over the South, the conflict of interests between the races has been extended to new fields, and a different pattern of race relations has developed, which will be discussed in subsequent chapters. More immediately we shall turn our attention to a detailed discussion of the trends in agriculture and to the development of urbanization and industrialization in the South.

THE TENANCY SYSTEM

The abolition of slavery and the devastation wrought by the Civil War caused a reorganization of the plantation system. When slavery was abolished, the planters thought that the old relation would be kept up, with wages in place of subsistence. The system that developed was quite different from a wage system—the laborer's condition ranging from almost a state of bondage to a state of independence. The war had left a stricken upper class possessing nothing but lands and a servile population possessing naught except the labor of their hands. This was the result of introducing emancipation without compensation, as contrasted with the British

West Indies where the slave-owners received over \$100,000,000 for the loss of their workers; and as an incident of civil strife, as contrasted with Brazil where the Negro was released from a servile status gradually and under circumstances which favored the continuance of those intimate personal ties so advantageous to a new freeman. In the Southern states a system was arrived at whereby labor was secured without money wages and land without money rent. This was the crop-lien system instituted by a series of laws passed after 1865.

A lien is the legal claim of a person who has furnished labor or material on the object produced by his aid. The new laws applied this protective device to unplanted crops. Thus the impoverished landowner could secure advances to raise his crops, and the person or firm making the advance was protected by a lien on the future crop. The lien laws were originally enacted for the benefit of the white landowners; they were not designed to help the freed Negroes, whom the whites wanted to keep as farm laborers rather than as potential tenants or owners. The system, however, came to be applied not only to Negroes but to the poor whites as well, with the landlord or merchant advancing money and supplies and taking a lien on the tenant's crop. The tenant also pledged a portion of his crop for use of the land. The crop-lien system was developed to readjust the Negro to cotton production on terms more fitting a modern economy than slavery, but the unpropertied poor-white farmers also entered into the new scheme and helped to make a temporary expediency a permanent arrangement. Today in the South more than half of the farmers are tenants, and the whites produce the majority of the crop.

The interest rates under the crop-lien system are extraordinarily high and the credit structure precarious, with the result that, along with other economic conditions of cotton cultivation, both landlords and tenants are frequently in debt and many small landowners have fallen into the tenant class. The simple per annum interest rates in the cotton counties varies from 10 to 25 per cent. In addition to this are the "credit prices," which are greater even than the interest charges, so that the total cost to the tenant for his supplies commonly averages 50 per cent or more. With these excessive charges for production and consumption credit, the tenant fails to accumulate capital or even to get out of debt (more

than a third of the tenants have debts of more than a year's standing); and the small farm owner is in constant danger of falling into the tenant class. To the tenant, the landlord is the system; to the landlord, the capital of the banks is the system. The landlord needs credit with which to advance credit to the tenants. The security of the landlord is in the mortgage on the crops which will be raised. Because cotton lends itself best to this arrangement, cotton is overproduced, and debts descend to obscure still another year of labor, and the vicious circle continues. In the desperate struggle both may lose, but the weight of the system falls heaviest upon those lowest down. As long as the crop lien is given as security for a loan and all financing is done through the agency which holds this crop lien, there is little chance of improvement in the short-time credit conditions of the farmers.

One outcome of this precarious credit structure is the concentration of land in impersonal ownership. Since about 1880 the better lands of the South have been progressively concentrated into large plantations under central management, and many of these plantations have fallen into the hands of large creditor institutions. It is estimated that areas amounting to thirty per cent of the cotton lands of various states are owned by insurance companies and banks, representing largely Northern capital. Many of the old planter class have lost out and have moved to the city; some have been reduced to the status of tenants; and the plantations today are for the most part large-scale commercial farming ventures. Although the plantation system continues as before to control practically the entire life of the families living within it, this control has become increasingly impersonal. Likewise, the yeoman-farmer class and the poor-white landowners have gone heavily in debt and in increasing numbers have been sold out, to drop into the tenant class or else to seek employment in the city.

The whole picture of changing agricultural conditions in the South since the Civil War is more unfavorable to the whites than to the Negroes. Although the Negroes' status upon emancipation was purely that of laborers, by 1940 only 40.8 per cent of Negroes in agriculture were wage laborers whereas 44.1 per cent had become tenants and 15.1 per cent, owners. If Negro males alone are considered, the proportion of tenants and owners would be greater, for Negro women in agriculture are mainly laborers. Among the white farm operators, on the other hand, the rise of

tenancy has meant a great decrease in the proportion of ownership. As Vance (*All These People*, p. 235) points out, present Negro owners and tenants are all the descendants of slave laborers, while the white tenants and laborers are children and grandchildren, in the main, of landowners. For the Negroes tenancy is a step in advance of the previous generation; for the whites it is a step backward.

Tenants in the South may be divided into three main classes: (1) renters who hire land for a fixed rental to be paid either in cash or its equivalent in crop values; (2) share tenants, who furnish their own farm equipment and work animals and obtain use of land by agreeing to pay a fixed per cent of the cash crop which they raise; (3) sharecroppers who must have furnished to them not only the land but also farm tools and animals, fertilizer, and often even the food they consume and who in return pay a larger per cent of the crop. In considering cotton tenancy, the first group may be ignored since they are few in number and their status is independent enough to remove them from the system of subservient tenancy. The share tenants, since they supply much of their own equipment, are able to rent the land on fairly good terms, usually on the basis of paying to the owner not more than one-fourth or one-third of the crop raised. The sharecroppers, on the other hand, having almost nothing to offer but their labor, must pay as rent a higher share of the product, usually one-half of the crop. In addition, both tenants and croppers must pay out of their share of the crop for all that is furnished to them in the way of seed, fertilizer, and other supplies. Tenancy, as commonly applied in the South, is a general term covering both the share tenants and the sharecroppers but not the renters.

In the South as a whole 48.2 per cent of the farms, and in the cotton belt approximately 60 per cent, are operated by tenants according to the 1940 Census of Agriculture. This is the highest rate of any region or geographic division. The rates of tenancy range from 25 per cent in Florida to 66 per cent in Mississippi. Over one-third of all tenants in the South, and over half of the Negro tenants, are croppers, that is, in the lowest category of poverty and dependence. The number of tenant families in the 10 chief cotton states in 1940 was 1,266,180. Of these, 781,197 were white, and 484,983 were colored. The total number of individuals in these tenant families runs to approximately four million whites

and two and a half million Negroes. From 1880 to 1930 tenancy in the South steadily increased. Since then a decline has set in, which is more marked among Negroes than whites and among croppers in both races than other tenants.

The Negro sharecroppers are tenants in name only. They are capitalless people who rent a farm but are obliged to depend upon the landlord or merchant for livestock, implements, seeds, fertilizer, and even their own food and clothing. They supply only labor; the others furnish all the capital and have a lien on the crops. Sharecroppers may be described as hired men who are paid a share of the crop instead of a fixed wage. Their legal position is that of wage hands without any definite assurance of wages. In theory the system works as follows: the owner furnishes the land, the sharecropper the labor, and at the end of the year the crop is supposed to be divided share and share alike. From the sharecropper's portion is deducted the amount received by him in supplies during the year at the plantation store or commissary or from a merchant designated by the owner. In practice the system has worked as follows: the crop is taken by the landowner and sold, and settlement is made to the sharecropper whenever and at whatever terms the landlord chooses to give. Instead of an itemized statement of the supplies received, in most cases only a statement of the total is given. This provides an opportunity to make a false statement as to the amount for which the crop is sold and to pad the expense account. If actually or through manipulation the sharecropper finds himself in debt, he may not leave the plantation unless perchance he gets some other landlord or merchant to take over his obligations. The owner by padding the accounts of the Negroes to the point where the balance due always exceeds the value of the crop can assure his labor supply for the following year. The result is a virtual system of peonage, which is a Federal offense.

The following case is from the court records in Arkansas where an investigation was held following a race riot in 1919 when some Negro tenants attempted to form an association to combat the system of exploitation. A Negro sharecropper made 14 bales of cotton. He and his white landlord were entitled to 7 bales each. But the landlord took all the Negro's cotton seed and declared that he had sold the cotton at 14 cents per pound although cotton in the open market was at that time selling at 28 cents. The Negro

received \$490 instead of \$980 and was presented with a bill for supplies of \$853, leaving him in debt the following year to the extent of \$363, which was reduced to \$340 when his landlord with great magnanimity "allowed" him \$23 as he "is a good nigger and needs encouragement."

Occasionally in the newspapers of the South occur notices reminiscent of slavery times.

NEGRO BOY RUNAWAY

A small colored boy about 14 years old ran away from his home near Stapleton Jan. 4th. [1927] Anyone seeing him will please notify me and hold him untill I arrive. I will pay reward. I object to anyone using him.—Roy Haines, Stapleton, Ga., Rt. 1 Box 16

NOTICE—I forbid any one to hire or harbor Herman Miles, colored, during the year 1939. A. P. Dabbs, Route 1, Yanceyville.

It is impossible to determine the extent of exploitation of these Negro farmers so long as the books are kept by the landlord, the sale price of cotton is known only by him, and the cost and interest on supplies advanced are in his hands. The general suspicion of the Negroes and the number of stories in circulation suggest that the practice of exploitation has been fairly common. A typical story, reported by Carlson, is that of a white landlord settling the yearly account with a tenant and saying, "George, you've worked hard this year, and even though prices have been low, you made out very well. All you owe me is \$12." The merchant also at times falsifies the Negro's account and justifies his conduct by saying that the Negro will spend his money at the first opportunity and that he might just as well have it as some other merchant. For example,

The old Negro farmer took off his battered hat and scratched his head meditatively. He was in the throes of achieving his annual settling up with the country storekeeper, who advanced him what he needed in the way of food, clothing and supplies during the year.

"Then we's all square?" he repeated.

"Yes, J.C., all square," said the white man.

"And I don't owe you nothin'?"

"No."

"And you don't owe me nothin'?"

"Tha's right."

"And yit . . ." J.C. shook his head dubiously. "And yit I still got two bales o' cotton on my hands."

The storekeeper took out his quid and tossed it into the sawdust box.

"Well, goddam it, J.C.! Why'n't you say so before? Now I've got to do some more figurin'." (Carter Brooke Jones, "Down South in Georgia," *American Mercury*, Vol. 27, pp. 92-97, September, 1932.)

It is roughly estimated that in the Yazoo Delta region of Mississippi not more than 25 or 30 per cent of the sharecroppers get an honest settlement at the end of the season.

One reason for preferring Negro to white labor on plantations is the inability of the Negro to make or enforce demands for a just statement or in some cases for any statement at all. He may hope for protection, justice, and honesty from his landlord, but he cannot demand them. A Negro tenant who questions a white landlord's reckoning is usually regarded as a "bad Negro" and driven off the plantation before he can "spoil" the other tenants. Social control is related only vaguely to law; the landlord-tenant relation is a strictly individual affair. Some landlords carry over the tradition of paternal concern for their tenants, some grant a fair deal in a less paternalistic spirit, but no Southerner would maintain that the "good" landlords are in the majority, and even the most fair and just of the whites are prone to accept the dishonest landlord as part of the system. If a tenant feels that he is being cheated, about the only thing he can do is to move to another plantation, although some attempt has been made by the use of stealth to secure a fair share of the proceeds from the crop. This is a common justification made by colored tenants for thefts of small amounts of stock or cotton from their landlords. When caught, they are whipped. The tenant turnover is high. His one outstanding means of asserting freedom is this mobility, although it is restricted to the county or general district. The advantage of mobility is not always available, however, for if a sharecropper is in debt he cannot leave without the landlord's consent. Various estimates place the average number of years that a tenant occupies a farm in the cotton area at from two to five. Farm tenancy and the mobility of tenants have had an important contributing effect on soil fertility and erosion and have made it difficult to plan any long-range soil-conservation program, for the tenant has little incentive to conserve or improve the soil.

The fixed custom of exploiting the Negro has been carried over to the white tenant and cropper. Yet it has been impossible to bring about any change, even to get the poor-white workers to take a stand, since any movement for reform is immediately confused with the race issue. Because of their insistence upon the degrading of Negro tenants, millions of white workers continue to keep themselves in virtual peonage. A beginning in cooperative effort has been made, however, in the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, founded in 1934 by a group of Negro and white sharecroppers living in eastern Arkansas. Though violently resisted at first by white planters, it has spread to the large plantation areas of Alabama, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Louisiana, and Texas. In 1947 over 20,000 families held membership in 142 local organizations. Its purpose is to achieve economic and social security upon the land for those who till the soil. It unites black and white tenants, sharecroppers and day laborers of the South in a bona fide union and does it without violence or hatred.

The exploitation and peonage connected with the sharecropping system persists further because of the ignorance, dependence, and improvidence of the tenants; and the system operates in turn to perpetuate those conditions. Ignorance simplifies the technique of exploitation, and the traditional dependence of the Negro upon the white landowner fosters it. Not all this dependence upon the whites is based on fear; there is a solid and sympathetic paternalism among some of the white planters toward their Negro dependents which is felt by them. "In general," says Raper (*Preface to Peasantry*, p. 157), "both races and all tenure classes accept things as they are. The basic assumptions of the planter—the tenant needs to be looked after like a child, he is improvident, and he works only when in need of food—find a complement in the tenant's somber sequel: 'What's the use? I don't get nothin' but a livin' nohow.'" Many Negro tenants and farm laborers lack ambition and industry; some of them are like the Negro who, when asked if he wanted to earn a quarter, replied: "No, thanks, Boss, I've got one." They have added an eleventh Commandment to the effect that on Saturday also thou shalt not labor. It is frequently complained that at the beginning of the cotton-picking season Negro laborers work but five days and that as the demand for labor increases and wages rise they work a shorter time, because they are satisfied with earning a given amount. This type of

worker exhibits what may be called a precapitalistic mentality, which is characteristic of people accustomed to living in a state of dependence in which they content themselves with a bare subsistence. Like low-standard-of-living people generally, they often spend their money extravagantly. The late Dean Kelly Miller of Howard University said: "The Negro buys what he wants and begs what he needs." A white Mississippian (David Cohn, p. 184) writes:

The blight and scourge of the Delta Negro is his incredible improvidence. It is an improvidence so fantastic, so deep rooted, so absurd as to appear impossible to anyone who has not lived among these people. Shortly before the great flood of 1927, when it seemed certain that the whole area of the Delta would soon be under water, a Negro walked into a store. "Boss," he said, "I wants me a Stutson hat." He paid five dollars for it. Then he said, "Dere's another Stutson I'd sho lak to have. Dat brin'le-brown one. I ain't got but ten dollars an' I wants me bofe dem hats so I has 'em w'en de flood come. Does you gimme a dime to git me somethin' t' eat, I'll take 'em." The clerk gave him a dime. He went out of the store happy but penniless, with two hats to wear during the flood which would probably be of long duration.

Railroad excursions, automobiles, musical instruments, flashy clothes, and showy jewelry are some of the objects on which money is squandered. An increase in wages or a favorable crop is the signal for extravagant spending. Men buy automobiles who have no garage in which to put them and pianos which cost more than the cabin in which they are placed.

The fact that the lower class Negro, urban as well as rural, can live off the fruits of a few days' labor and, if so minded, can rest the other days is emphasized by the fact that much of his income goes for incidentals, while the items of food, shelter, clothing, cleanliness, and self-improvement receive but slight attention. As long as the Negro's standard of living is so low that he can expend his money in this way and suffer no loss of satisfaction, just so long will his progress be painfully slow. The problem is to make the really essential things which go to sustain a higher standard of life attractive to the Negro. If he works for the gawdy and the unnecessary, he will work for the substantial things of life when he becomes convinced of their desirability. This is a matter of education.

The background of the Negro is one that encouraged improvidence. During the days of slavery it was the master, not the slave, who had to take thought for the morrow. Under the tenancy system there are no strong incentives to self-improvement. The tenant families have no stake in the land, no voice in determining what or how much they shall plant, nor when or where the crop will be sold; they keep no books and have no interests beyond the daily routine. Under a system which does not encourage labor and thrift, they easily develop habits of improvidence.

As matters now stand, the tenant who really works on his place, who labors to restore the soil, who repairs and builds, is merely inviting his landlord to raise his rent. . . . It may be argued that landlords generally would not follow any such course; but the absence of any laws on the statute books of the Southern states protecting tenants in improvements made by them is a final answer to such arguments. Those who say that legal protection for the tenant is unnecessary, that we have too many laws, will have difficulty in justifying the crop-lien laws which protect the immediate interests of the merchants and landlords but ignore the immediate interests of the tenants and the long-time interests of every one in the region. (C. S. Johnson, E. R. Embree, and W. W. Alexander, pp. 20-21.)

For the real meaning of the term "sharecropper" one must look to such matters as low income, insecurity, and lack of opportunity for self-direction and responsible participation in community affairs. According to the study directed by T. J. Woofter, Jr., *Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation*, the average annual earnings in 1934 for the various classes of tenants covered by the survey were found to be \$180 per family for wage hands, \$312 for cropper families, \$417 for other tenant families, and \$354 for cash-rent families. The cash income of the families, varying by race and tenure class, averaged less than a dollar a day per family. According to a sample study made by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, the family wage or salary income in 1939 in the South was less than \$200 a year in the case of approximately 70 per cent of the white and 75 per cent of colored farm tenants. Moreover, the value of home-grown provisions consumed by the rural families is generally low; many families have no garden, while the gardens of others are poor, and cows are scarce.

Food crops are generally taboo on rich cotton land. The growing of household produce does not fit into the economy of a cash

crop, and it is not encouraged by landlords whose prerogative it is to determine the crops grown. Food crops mature during the same season as cotton, which is a further obstacle under the system to raising them. Moreover, since warehouse receipts and ginning reports enable the landlords to check up easily on the tenant's honesty in reporting the amount of his cotton crop, landowners and bankers have often discouraged rotation and diversification by exacting prohibitively large shares of other crops which are difficult to check. As a result, the diet is chronically inadequate and pellagra is prevalent. The diet is limited largely to imported foods, made available through the commissaries and local stores. It is commonly restricted to the notorious three M's—meat (fat salt pork), meal, and molasses. Evidence of the slow ravages of this diet are to be found in the widespread incidence of pellagra, which Dr. Joseph Goldberger of the U.S. Public Health Service attributes directly to lack of proper food.

The climate permits primitive structures to serve as shelter. Though a few of the pioneer log structures remain inhabited on the plantations, the predominant type of dwelling is the "box house" constructed of rough lumber and frequently providing, through structural defects, ventilation that cannot be controlled. Many rural homes are not equipped with glass windows but have crude wooden shutters which serve as coverings for window openings. Chimneys, sometimes made of sticks and clay, need to be propped up to keep them from falling over. Unpainted and weathered a drab gray, these three- and four-room structures offer little more than shelter. The open well, the kerosene lamp, the fireplace, and the privy are standard equipment. Such is the typical home inhabited by tenants.

The cultural landscape of the cotton belt has been described by Montgomery (p. 251) as a "miserable panorama of unpainted shacks, rain-gullied fields, straggling fences, rattletrap Fords, dirt, poverty, disease, drudgery, and monotony that stretches for a thousand miles across the cotton belt."

Most tenants are foredoomed to poverty; there seems little hope for improvement under the existing system. Lack of crop rotation, poor cultivation methods, a ruinous credit system, illiteracy, mobility, poverty, and disease combine to keep the tenant in a vicious circle of economy. The economic and social life of the European peasant is on a higher scale than that of the Southern

tenant farmer, white or colored. The plantation economy has led not to the appearance of the traditional independent American farmer but to the emergence of a peasantry. It has engendered social and regional differences of great significance. The South trails all other regions in the matter of property ownership and political participation, in the per cent of the population filing income tax returns, in the proportion of rural births occurring in hospitals, of total population enrolled in high schools, of farm homes with running water, of rural homes with radios, while it leads in illiteracy, homicides, lynchings, malaria, hookworm, pellagra, and rickets. It has been termed the number one economic problem of the nation.

Although, on the one hand, the system of farm tenancy in the South has encouraged cheating and peonage, in many cases it has been a school of industry and thrift and an aid to land buying. Of the 1,148,392 Negroes reported by the 1940 Census as engaged in farming in the South, 468,126 were wage laborers, 506,638 tenants, and 173,628 farm owners. The rise of a Negro peasantry out of slavery to the ownership of some 173,000 farms in the South valued at \$250,000,000 is a fact of no mean accomplishment, especially in view of the restrictions of race relations. The Negro buys land only when some white man will sell it to him. The prospective owner must be acceptable, which means not only that he is industrious and his credit good but also that he "knows his place" and stays in it. In most cases of Negro land purchases the white landowner has taken the initiative and encouraged favorite tenants to buy a small portion of his holdings and frequently assisted them. Negro farm ownership is conditioned not only by traditional race relations but also by the fact that fertile plantation land is not for sale. Thus the percentage of Negro farmers who own the land they till ranges from 63 per cent in Virginia, a nonplantation state, to 14 per cent in Mississippi, a plantation state. Negro ownership is concentrated largely in the decadent plantation area of the Atlantic coastal plain and on the cheap undeveloped land of the interior coastal plain. For Negro land ownership to increase there is need of support from agricultural schools, the government, and white organizations. Among the New Deal resettlement projects there are eight all-Negro farmers' colonies in six Southern states and twenty-three rural projects in twelve states. In spite of prevailing

racial attitudes there exists less disposition to keep the Negro off the land or out of ownership than to keep him out of skilled trades and crafts. Vance, in discussing racial competition ("Racial Competition for the Land"), says,

Partly this may be due to a traditional belief that the Negro's place is on the land, partly to the feeling that tenancy offers an adequate means of enforcing status and control. The Negro on the land was an accomplished fact; the Negro in industry was a rising status to be resisted by groups threatened with new competition.

THE COTTON COMPLEX

Cotton culture first under slavery and afterward under the tenancy system is basically responsible for the unfavorable social and economic conditions affecting both whites and Negroes in the rural South. Cotton is not only the major crop of the South, it is also the most important cash crop produced in the United States. It is raised on about two million farms, which have a total population of approximately nine million persons. The U.S. National Emergency Council's *Report on Economic Conditions of the South* (p. 45) states: "The cotton market is a sheer gamble. On this gamble nearly 2,000,000 Southern families stake their year's work and everything they own. . . . No other similar area in the world gambles its welfare and the destinies of so many people on a single crop market year after year." And, the *Report* continues, "few other crops are subject to such violent and unpredictable price variations as cotton."

A set of practices surrounds the crop which may be referred to as the cotton complex. This is characterized by Vance in his *Human Geography of the South* (pp. 193-194) as follows:

Cotton is produced with (1) a large proportion of expensive credit, (2) in connection with a small percentage of other crops, (3) under a system of supervision and regimentation as in plantation and tenancy, (4) calling for a maximum amount of manual labor much of which is furnished by women and children. Moreover, (5) in prosperity cotton creates a vested interest in credit institutions to maintain it, (6) in times of depression it enables failing farmers to continue in the cotton system by receding to the lower levels of tenure, and (7) at all times it encourages speculation, overexpansion, and overproduction. Finally, (8) the crop is sold in a marketing system which the growers do not understand and over which they exercise little or no control.

Vance (*Human Geography of the South*, pp. 467-481) holds that the explanation of the social and economic conditions in the South is to be sought in the colonial system under which it was founded, the frontier zone into which it expanded, the plantation system to which it passed, and the cotton system with its tenancy which prevailed after abolition; in short, in the colonial economy which still largely characterizes the region and which leads to the overexploitation of natural resources without the accumulation of capital goods to take their place. This is illustrated in part in the constant shifting of the center of cotton production, which has moved from the eastern cotton area (Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama) to the delta area (Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana), to the western cotton area (Oklahoma and Texas). The delta and western areas now produce nearly three-fourths of the entire cotton crop of the United States; Texas and Oklahoma alone produce nearly one-half. If the trend continues, these states can easily supply the world consumption of American cotton, leaving a vast population in the eastern South stranded completely. In recent years the greatest increase in cotton acreage has been in the delta area of Mississippi—the richest cotton soil in the whole South, with the greatest plantation area and the greatest concentration of Negro tenants—and in the western cotton area, the most highly mechanized of all, which has taken over the cotton culture without the full plantation pattern of the old South, its farm operators being recruited not so much from the planter class as from those independent small farmers who were seeking to escape from the domination of the plantation. Sharecroppers number about one-fifth of all the farmers in the eastern area, one-third in the delta area, and only one-eighth in the western cotton area. Says Raper in an article in *Social Forces*:

Evidence that the exploitation of land and man is of the essence of the present-day plantation system, as of the historical one, is readily seen in the fact that the most dependent, most illiterate, and most pellagra-ridden agricultural workers in the South are concentrated on the newer, fertile lands of the region. They are the wage hands and croppers in the Mississippi Delta and Southwest, where plantations are largest and most closely supervised, where yields are greatest and fertilizer costs are smallest, where wealth production is high and wealth retention is low.

As the plantation system runs its cycle, it depletes the soil, impoverishes the tenants, disinherits the landowners, and results in inevitable stagnation. Government experts estimate the actual cost of production in most of the South at about 11 cents per pound; but cotton has sold for less than this for more than half of the time since 1900. Since approximately half of the cotton crop is marketed abroad, the prosperity of the South depends to a large extent upon world supply and demand of cotton. Whereas the Southern states once supplied this raw material for a large part of the world, today they must compete with some fifty cotton-growing countries, the most important of which are India, Egypt, China, Brazil, and Russia. The old position of cotton is further menaced by the competition of substitutes of which rayon, now our third largest textile industry, is the most formidable. The natural response to these conditions has been the emigration of both Negro and white populations. The increasing mechanization of the industry, especially in the Mississippi Delta and Western areas, has hastened the process of tenant displacement. Numerous tenants have already been "tractored off" the land and now find employment on the cotton crop only as hired day laborers and for peak operations such as chopping and picking. The successful development of cotton-picking and cotton-chopping machines will greatly reduce this opportunity for employment. According to one estimate made in 1940, the number of tenants displaced in the preceding few years was well over half a million, and it was predicted that within the next few years the number would reach close to a million. This piling up of a surplus labor supply in the rural South—for the cities cannot begin to absorb it—has further depressed the already low wages and created a great problem of unemployment and relief, which was only temporarily relieved during the period of war prosperity.

The plantation system once struck "bargains" by cultivating new grounds and by using slave and tenant labor, for which it now holds regional receipts—earthy and physiological, psychic and institutional.

Her earthy receipts are despoiled forests, depleted soils, gullies, and mud-choked rivers; her physiological receipts are malnutrition, pellagra, hookworm, and malaria; her psychic receipts are supersensitiveness, snobbishness, fatalism, and mob violence; her institutional receipts

are propertylessness, votelessness, illiteracy, and "patriotic poverty." (Arthur F. Raper and Ira DeA. Reid, "The South Adjusts—Downward," p. 21.)

The latter term refers to the studied manner in which many Southern communities protect exploitative enterprises in order to keep wages low and the Negro in his place and to perpetuate regional differentials.

Compounded of bad economics and degrading social conditions, cotton culture faces sweeping changes. What is to become of the half-million to a million tenants and their families, numbering two to five million individuals, who are no longer needed in the cultivation of cotton? The alternatives seem to be starvation, permanent support on relief, the finding of new work in the cities, or reorganization of farming in the old cotton states. The latter is the only acceptable and feasible choice. The Federal government, under the Agricultural Adjustment Administration program instituted in 1933, attempted to meet the problem of overproduction and low prices by paying the farmers to plow up cotton and to refrain from planting more. This procedure was generally satisfactory to the landowners but worked hardships on the tenants, on whom was thrown the brunt of reduced acreage. The policy was directly responsible for pushing hundreds of thousands of tenants and croppers off the land. The Farm Security Administration (renamed the Farmers' Home Administration in 1946)—one of the few government agencies not discriminating against Negroes—has reached financially some 60,000 Negro farm families through rehabilitation loans, tenant purchase loans, and cooperative homestead projects. The problem, however, is too staggering to be successfully met by any such simple device as government loans. As Will W. Alexander has said, in his foreword to Raper's *Preface to Peasantry*,

The new land policy must be one of restoration and rehabilitation. It must retire from cultivation those lands which never should have been put under the plow and must restore them to timber and other natural uses. It must change fundamentally the relation of the majority of the people to the land, by affording an opportunity for ownership of the land by the man *who works it*. It must substitute for cotton production a program of general farming, which will emphasize the improvement of soil and the production of food. These things accomplished, many of the rural South's disinherited people may be re-

habilitated into useful and intelligent citizens—an end which never can be attained under the cotton tenancy system that has prevailed in the past.

THE PROBLEM OF THE SOUTH

Just as the lower tier of states is the cotton South, so the upper South—chiefly Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Carolinas—is primarily the tobacco South. On these two staple crops the farming South depends for two-thirds of its cash income. In its social effects, tobacco is much like cotton as it has developed a system of tenancy, sharecropping, and “furnishing,” together with a dependence on the labor of women and children. Conditions in the upper South, however, have been better on the whole than those in the cotton belt, and there has been less dependence upon a single money crop. There are some thriving cattle and dairy sections, a great textile industry, important shipyards, and other evidences of a balanced economy. Yet the problems of credit, soil erosion, tenancy, and the lack of stability which characterize the cotton states are prevalent to some degree in the tobacco states.

Although there is a noticeable trend toward industrialization in the South, as will be seen in the following chapter, the South is still primarily agricultural and rural. Despite its natural resources and rapidly growing population, it is the poorest and most backward region of the United States. This statement holds true even if the comparison is limited to agriculture, while it is most marked in general economic conditions. The South has been properly labeled the number one economic problem of the nation. Its per capita income is the lowest. Indeed, the richest state in the South ranks lower in per capita income than the poorest state outside the region. The South's industrial wages, like its farm income, are the lowest in the United States. Child labor is more common in the South than in any other section, and several Southern states are among those which have the largest proportion of their women in gainful employment. Moreover, they work under fewer legal safeguards than do women and children elsewhere in the nation. Houses in the rural South are the oldest, have the lowest value, and have the greatest need of repairs of any farmhouses in the United States. With less than a third of the nation's area the South has nearly two-thirds of the nation's land

that is badly damaged by erosion. With only one-fifth of the nation's income it pays three-fifths of the nation's fertilizer bill. Southern farmers grow at home less than one-fifth of the things they use; four-fifths of all they eat and wear is purchased. Many common vegetables are rarities in many Southern farming communities, although both soil and climate are extremely favorable to their growth.

In spite of its wealth of population and natural resource, the South is poor in the machinery for converting this wealth to the uses of its people. With 28 per cent of the nation's population, it has only 16 per cent of the tangible assets, including factories, machines, and the tools with which people make their living. With more than half of the country's farmers, the South has less than a fifth of the farm implements. Despite its coal, oil, gas, and water power, the region uses only 15 per cent of the nation's factory horsepower. Its potentialities have been neglected and its opportunities unrealized (U.S. National Emergency Council, *Report on Economic Conditions of the South*, pp. 7-8).

Many diagnoses have been made of the economic problems of the South. The more common explanations refer to the following considerations: the destruction of material and human values during the Civil War and its aftermath; relatively poor soils and their mismanagement; the inefficiency of Southern farmers and of Negro workers; the climate, together with malaria, hookworm, and inadequate diet; lack of rotation and diversification of crops; illiteracy and lack of education; the debtor status of the South; the national tariff system which has forced the agricultural South to pay higher prices for manufactured products while selling its farm commodities on the unprotected world market; the freight-rate differentials which operate against the South; and lack of capital.

Myrdal (p. 221) holds that these factors are symptoms rather than causes and that "the explanation for the economic backwardness of the South must be carried down to the rigid institutional structure of the economic life of the region which, historically, is derived from slavery and, psychologically, is rooted in the minds of the people." Professor Odum in his numerous writings has stressed the paradox that is the South—the extraordinary chasm between the potentialities as indicated by resources and the actualities as measured by facts—and the sectionalism that has

conditioned the South to "isolation, individualism, ingrowing patriotism, cultural inbreeding, civic immaturity, and social inadequacy" (*Southern Regions of the United States*, pp. 13, 15). Further summing up the characteristics of the region, Odum says: "As to resources—superabundance; as to science, skills, technology, organization—deficiency; as to general economy—waste; as to culture—richness with immaturity and multiple handicaps; as to trends—hesitancy and relative retrogression in many aspects of culture." These problems, he says, call for leadership of a high order as well as the full cooperation of both white and Negro citizens. He holds further that not only must the South develop itself, transforming her potentialities into technological and institutional wealth, and become increasingly integrated into the nation, but also that there must be national planning to produce a balance between the regions of America. (See also Odum's *The Way of the South*, Part III.)

The welfare of the Negro is bound up to a large extent with the welfare of the South. The great mass of the Negroes have been, and the majority of them still are, located in the South, and their problems have been interrelated with the problems of the region. Only as the South advances can the mass of Negroes look to improvement in their situation.

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CHAPTER 4

THE GROWTH OF INDUSTRY AND MIGRATION TO THE CITY

The greatest potential source of future migration in the United States is to be found among the tenant farmers of the southeastern cotton belt. In the rural districts of this predominantly rural region there is a greater natural increase than in any other large segment of the national population. This excess of population is reared in an area where agriculture has been declining because of the shift of cotton westward, the ravages of the boll weevil, the depletion of the soil, erosion, and the decline of foreign markets. The Southeast is now drenched with labor and is therefore especially vulnerable to all forces which may cause the displacement of workers such as economic depression, crop restriction, and the use of farm machinery. Thousands of tenants, we have seen, have been reduced to the status of farm laborers; some have been converted into constant migrants from job to job or displaced from agriculture altogether. Much of the excess natural increase has drained off to the cities as the demand for industrial workers has increased, although the cities of the South have been unable to absorb all of it. Among the effects of this expanding population in an area of decreasing economic opportunity has been the intensification of the wage differentials between the South and other sections and of interracial competition in urban employment.

THE COMING OF INDUSTRY TO THE SOUTH

The most striking economic development in the South in recent decades has been its industrial transformation. Although some of this industrial expansion may be traced back to the 1870's and 1880's, most of it has occurred since the turn of the century and particularly since 1920. It is significant enough to lead to the designation of the New South in contrast to the Old South of plantations and slavery.

The industrial area of the New South stretches in a crescent from its southernmost tip at Birmingham, Alabama, to its northern end near Danville, Virginia, passing through Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia. This area of industrial concentration is the Piedmont region bordering the mountains on the north and west and the coastal plains on the south and east. Here the South is making her first coherent break with the agrarian tradition. The Piedmont may be considered as the pioneer fringe of an industrialism that is advancing upon the whole South.

According to the Census of Manufactures in 1939, the five leading Southern states in value of products were Texas, North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, and Georgia. Next came Alabama, Louisiana, Kentucky, South Carolina, Oklahoma, Florida, Mississippi, and Arkansas. The standing of Texas, Louisiana, and Oklahoma was due to their petroleum refining; in Texas this was responsible for a third of the total value of manufactured products, in Louisiana for more than a fifth, and in Oklahoma for between a third and a half. In number of wage earners in manufactures the leading states were North Carolina, Georgia, Texas, Tennessee, and Virginia, followed by South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, Kentucky, Florida, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Oklahoma. The leading industrial state in the South is North Carolina. It has the largest hosiery mill in the world, the largest paper-pulp mill in the United States, and the second largest aluminum plant in the world. Alabama ranks as the third state in the United States in the number of blast furnaces. Birmingham, founded in 1870, is the center of the South's iron industry, because here ores, coal, and fluxes (substances used to promote the fusion of metals) occur in close juxtaposition. The manufacture of cotton is the most important single industry in the South, dating from about 1870. Today the South manufactures over 80 per cent of the sheeting, print cloths, toweling, and tablecloths of the country. The manufacture of rayon is almost entirely a Southern industry, while the South produces about 36 per cent of all rayon broad-woven goods. The cottonseed-oil industry, confined almost entirely to the South, was firmly established by 1880. Texas is the leading state in this manufacture, with Mississippi its nearest rival. The turpentine and rosin industry and cane-sugar manufacture are entirely Southern. The South is of increasing importance in the

manufacture of tobacco, a well-organized, integrated, and stable industry located mainly in North Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky; of furniture and wood products, centering in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia; of fertilizers and chemicals, an old industry in the South, with Georgia the leading state; and of paper, which is developing in Virginia, Louisiana, and Tennessee. In addition to the development of these local industries there has been some migration of industry southward, especially cotton mills, attracted by the low labor costs. Also, during the Second World War appeared an expansion of the shipyards and steel mills of the South and the introduction of new war industries such as aircraft and shell-loading plants.

It is significant, however, that the more important industries of the South from the standpoint of number of wage earners—industries which manufacture cigarettes, turpentine and rosin, cotton woven goods, hosiery, fertilizer, wooden boxes, and distilled liquors—are by and large low wage, low value-creating industries. The proportion of unskilled workers in the industrial labor force is much greater in the South than in the North, and wages in general are lower, especially for Negroes.

The development of industry in the South has made possible the rise of a wage-earning class and offered opportunities to some of the surplus rural population. Most Southern industrial workers have a farm background, and most of them are white, recruited in the main from the poor whites of the plantation area and from the mountaineers. The shifting of the population from agriculture to manufacturing and commercial enterprises has brought to the towns and cities an element of white men, quick to take advantage of changing conditions, who have entered into competition with the Negroes and are forcing them into the background.

When the Negro gained his freedom in 1865, he lost his practical monopoly of skilled labor in the South, which was then mainly of the handicraft type—blacksmithing, cabinetmaking, painting, masonry, shipbuilding, etc. It has been estimated that at that time out of a total of 120,000 mechanics in the South, 100,000 were Negroes. The decline of the handicrafts and the progressive mechanization of industry led to a redefinition of occupations from "Negro jobs" to "white man's work" and caused a virtual exclusion of Negroes from new industrial job opportunities. Moreover, domestic and personal service positions had

been considered as Negro jobs at which white men would not work. These included barbers, waiters, elevator operators, porters, and other manual occupations. The pressure of young white adults from country districts has changed this tradition. Negroes have almost completely lost out as barbers to white trade, largely lost out as elevator tenders, and partially lost out as waiters. As an index of the trend, it is said that in certain cities white men are driving the trucks and collecting the garbage in Negro residential sections.

As urban unemployment piled up during the depression of the 1930's, there was a further encroachment on Negro jobs, aided by the political power of the whites. A Florida city passed an ordinance restricting Negro building tradesmen from working on structures in the white section of town. A Georgia city enacted an ordinance prohibiting Negro barbers from serving white women and children. The State Supreme Court declared this law invalid a year later, but already the Negro barber business had been crippled. White waitresses, attendants, and elevator operators increased; and as white workers turned to any jobs they could get, Negroes looked for relief.

In the new developing industries the Negro has been pretty generally excluded except for the common laboring jobs. He has found employment in such capacities chiefly in iron and steel, fertilizer, tobacco, turpentine, and furniture production. He is most strictly limited in industries and occupations (1) which represent new technical developments, such as rayon manufacturing, rubber fabrication, and airplane construction; (2) which involve large amounts of white-collar work, such as telephone and telegraph systems; (3) which logically and frequently promote workers to higher positions, such as automobile factories; (4) which involve contact with the public, such as conductors and motor-men or salespeople; (5) which manufacture food; and (6) which are located in areas in which few Negroes live. (Charles S. Johnson, *Patterns of Negro Segregation*, pp. 86-87.)

The practice of segregation has been applied, although segregation is not compatible with industrial efficiency; modern industry changes too rapidly and is too complex for a caste system. Segregation is usually left in the hands of private business, but in a few instances Southern legislatures have found it advisable to interfere. Thus a North Carolina statute provides that there must be sepa-

rate toilets for whites and Negroes in all manufacturing plants located in towns of 1,000 or more inhabitants; a Texas law requires separate bathing and locker facilities in the coal mines; and a South Carolina statute, segregating the races in cotton-textile factories, denies them the use of the same means of entrance and exit at the same time, the same ticket windows, stairways, lavatories, toilets, or drinking utensils. The Negroes, lacking political power and with decreasing protection from the upper class whites, are rather helpless in the face of increasing competition from the whites.

Much of Southern industry has taken on the feudal character of the cotton plantation. This was natural in view of the facts that the plantation was the only pattern of large-scale organization known in the South and that in the cities and new mill towns provision had to be made for housing the new industrial workers and for their maintenance, schooling, policing, and the like. The company store of the mill village is not unlike the commissary, the factory supervisor not unlike the plantation overseer, while the revealing phrase "my workers" may be heard in factory and downtown office building as well as at the end of the cotton rows. On the other hand, in the absentee-owned Northern mills moved South, the highly personalized paternalistic pattern has practically vanished, except for the maintenance of company villages, and the mills are run on strictly impersonal business lines.

The traditional Southern patterns of individualism and class consciousness have been carried over to industry. The workers in various industries form a sort of hierarchy: workers in the skilled trades and in the steel, tobacco, and furniture industries feel superior to the cotton-mill workers and the coal miners who lead an isolated and somewhat segregated life and who in turn feel superior to the Negroes. This situation, coupled with the tradition of individualism and independence and the loss to management of leaders among the workers, has checked the development of a labor-class movement. There has been little consciousness of common interest. The usual protest against low wages, unsatisfactory working conditions, and monotony has been the individual one of moving. Latterly, as a result of increasing literacy, a rising standard of living, and the experience of group living in towns, these old attitudes are being modified and the workers are beginning to organize. By the time of the Second World War,

however, only the coal and steel industries of the Birmingham area, a few cotton mills, some of the clothing and tire establishments, a substantial portion of the building tradesmen, longshoremen, and printers, and a handful of farm tenants and wage hands had become organized.

One of the difficulties of achieving effective labor organization has been the unwillingness of white workers to agree to the principle of equal pay even when it is apparent that lower pay for Negroes depresses standards for white workers. Liberal sentiment in the South, however, is moving toward equal treatment. For example, Ralph McGill, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, addressing the Southern Labor Conference of the American Federation of Labor, called upon organized labor to eliminate Southern wage differentials, which he termed "one of the curses of the South," and to "give the Negro worker a break." (*The New York Times*, May 13, 1946.) Although segregation is still observed by AFL and CIO unions in many Southern locals with mixed membership, it may truthfully be said that the labor union is about the only local institution that whites and Negroes in the South have in common.

If we may judge by the history of industrialization elsewhere, the South will experience increasing labor organization, protective legislation, and industrial democracy. This movement, however, will be retarded by certain conditions peculiar to the South: the traditional paternal and exploitative attitude of employers; the cheapness and servility of labor; and the race issue.

MIGRATION OF NEGROES TO THE NORTH AND WEST

The mobility of the Negro population, which began as a result of the Civil War and emancipation, has continued down to the present, largely as a response to changing economic and social conditions in the South. The first mass movement, which began in the late 1860's and continued during the 1870's, was to Kansas and the West. The migration westward continued as the center of cotton cultivation moved to the delta and western cotton areas. Prior to the First World War Arkansas received the largest number of Negro migrants. Until the mass migration to the North during the First World War, the mobility of the Negro consisted of a small but steady stream of individuals and families migrating from the farms to lumber, turpentine, and mining camps and into

the towns and cities of the South and North. The effect of these migrations has been a wider diffusion of Negroes in the South, a declining proportion of Negroes in the population of the South, an increase in the number and proportion of Negroes in the North, and increasing urbanization in both sections.

A striking aspect of the diffusion of Negroes in the South is the declining concentration of Negroes in the so-called Black Belt, the historic plantation area. The Black Belt, which for this purpose may be taken as including the counties in which Negroes comprise 50 per cent or more of the total population, has declined from 300 such counties in 1880 to 286 in 1900 to 180 in 1940. The Negro population of the Black Belt has declined from 4,057,619 in 1900 to 2,642,808 in 1940, a decrease of 34.8 per cent. It should be noted, however, that part of this decline has been due to a decrease of the area included in the Black Belt.

The table on p. 92 shows the percentage distribution of the Negro population of the United States by areas at each census from the first in 1790 to the latest. According to the Bureau of the Census, the South is taken to include the following three divisions: the South Atlantic, comprising in addition to the District of Columbia the following eight states, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida; the East South Central, including Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi; and the West South Central, including Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas.

As revealed in the accompanying table, approximately nine-tenths of the Negroes in the United States resided in the South until 1910. In 1920 the percentage fell to 85.2, in 1930 to 78.7, and in 1940 to 77.0. The decline since 1910 has been due to the migration to the North and the West. During the entire period covered by the census reports certain changes took place in the distribution of the Negroes in the South. Thus, a steady decline occurred in the proportion of the Negroes residing in the South Atlantic division. The proportion of Negroes residing in the East South Central division increased from 1790 up to 1860 and has since then steadily fallen off. The proportion in the West South Central division has shown a steady increase up to 1910 and has remained but slightly below that point ever since. The increasing proportion of the Negroes residing in the North and in the West is especially marked after 1910: it doubled from 1910 to 1940.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO POPULATION, BY AREAS

Year	United States	The South				The North	The West
		Total	South Atlantic division	East South Central division	West South Central division		
1790	100.0	91.1	88.9	2.2	....	8.9	
1800	100.0	91.6	85.8	5.9	....	8.4	
1810	100.0	92.1	78.4	10.6	3.1	7.9	
1820	100.0	92.7	71.9	16.3	4.6	7.3	
1830	100.0	92.8	65.7	21.5	5.6	7.2	
1840	100.0	91.9	55.6	28.9	7.5	8.1	
1850	100.0	92.1	51.1	30.9	10.1	7.8	*
1860	100.0	92.2	46.3	31.4	14.5	7.7	0.1
1870	100.0	90.6	45.4	30.0	15.2	9.3	0.1
1880	100.0	90.5	44.7	29.3	16.5	9.3	0.2
1890	100.0	90.3	43.6	28.3	18.4	9.4	0.4
1900	100.0	89.7	42.2	28.3	19.2	10.0	0.3
1910	100.0	89.0	41.8	27.0	20.2	10.5	0.5
1920	100.0	85.2	41.3	24.1	19.7	14.1	0.8
1930	100.0	78.7	37.2	22.4	19.2	20.3	1.0
1940	100.0	77.0	36.5	21.6	18.9	21.7	1.3

SOURCE: Compiled from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915*, p. 33; *Negroes in the United States, 1920-1932*, p. 5; and *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Population*, Vol. II, *Characteristics of the Population*, Part I, p. 55.

* Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

The shifting of the Negro population away from the South is also revealed in the percentage of Negroes in the total population. The percentage of Negroes in the total population of the South has declined materially within the last fifty years. In 1880 it was 36 per cent, about the same as it had been since the first census in 1790. This percentage fell off to 33.8 in 1890, 32.3 in 1900, 29.8 in 1910, 26.9 in 1920, 24.7 in 1930 and 23.8 in 1940. Most of the decrease has been due to migration to cities outside of the South, where the migrant has been far outnumbered in the much larger white populations. Correlatively, there has been a gradual increase in the percentage of Negroes in the population of the North since 1860. A large part of this increase occurred, as we

have noted, in the decades following 1910. However, even in 1940 the percentage of Negroes in the total population in the North was only 3.7. But this slight increase in the percentage from 1.8 in 1910 reflects a very considerable increase in the number of Negroes in the North and also the striking change in the territorial distribution of the Negro population.

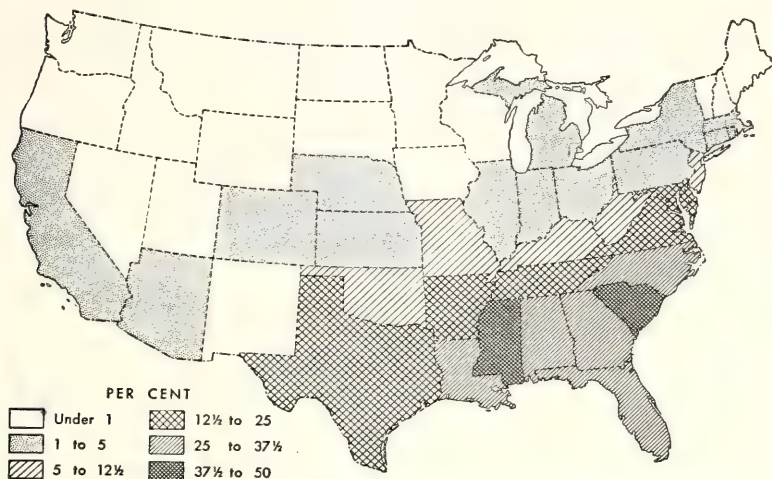


FIG. 2. Percentage of Negroes in the total population, by states, 1940. District of Columbia, 28.2 per cent, not shown separately on the map.

In actual numbers the Negro population in the North increased from 880,771 in 1900 to 1,027,674 in 1910, to 1,472,309 in 1920, to 2,409,219 in 1930, and to 2,790,193 in 1940. Meantime the number of Negroes in the West increased from 30,254 in 1900 to 170,706 in 1940. The greatest increase occurred during the decade 1920 to 1930. During this period, while the Negro population of the United States increased 13.6 per cent, in the South it increased only 5.0 per cent, but in the West 53.1 per cent, and in the North 63.6 per cent. That this increase in the Negro population in the North was due to migration rather than natural increase is indicated by the fact that in the interval of twenty years, 1910 to 1930, the number of Negroes living in the North but born in the South increased from 415,533 to 1,355,789. More than 58 per cent of the Negroes living in the North and the West were born in the South, while less than 1 per cent of the Negro population of the South in 1930 was born in other sections.

INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE NEGRO

The largest mass migration of Negroes northward occurred during the First World War, which greatly increased the demand for labor in the production of war materials at the same time that it reduced the labor supply in the North by cutting off immigration. The migration of Negroes to the North was originally stimulated by Northern employers who sent labor agents even to the deep South, and it was furthered by letters from Negroes who had migrated. This migration, which began in 1915, reached its maximum in 1917, and largely ended in 1918, involved about 500,000 Negroes. They were attracted primarily by the higher wages of the North, where they received \$4 to \$4.50 a day in contrast to 75 cents to \$1 a day in the South. Though the cost of living is higher in the North, the gain in real wages was appreciable.

The First World War gave the Negro his greatest opportunity to enter the industrial field. For the most part, these colored workers entered the unskilled occupations in such basic industries as iron and steel mills, automobile manufacture, chemical and allied factories, foundries, slaughtering, and meat packing. Although they experienced some difficulty at first in adjusting to factory work, they secured a strong foothold in industry. Employers who had originally hesitated to hire Negroes came to find them competent workers, loyal, patriotic, easily managed, and, in contrast to immigrants, English speaking. The relations between Negro wage earners and white employers, North and South, were improved. The South, forced for the first time to compete with other sections for its basic Negro labor supply, was induced to raise wages and give the Negroes better treatment. The Negro became impressed with the fact that he could move freely from place to place and be successful in getting at least as good a job as the one he left. He experienced an economic emancipation.

After the First World War the migration northward ceased, and many Negroes returned South. There, dissatisfied with conditions and affected by the decline in the cotton industry, they began to return to the North. The adoption of immigration restriction in 1921, made permanent by the law of 1924, reduced the common labor supply of the North and further stimulated the northward migration of Negroes. Though the depression of the

1930's checked the movement, nevertheless during 1930 to 1940 the Negro population increased 15.8 per cent in the North and 41.8 per cent in the West, whereas in the South it increased only 5.8 per cent—facts which indicate that an appreciable migration occurred from the South to the North and West.

The main routes of Negro migrants during the 1920's and 1930's were, first, from Georgia and South Carolina through the states along the Atlantic coast to Pennsylvania and New York; second, from Mississippi and Alabama through Tennessee and Kentucky to Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan; and third, from Texas and Louisiana through Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Missouri to Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan. Migrants were gained and deposited in each of the states along the routes. The movement originated in the rural areas of the deep South and terminated in the large cities of the North. The chief loss in Negro population was sustained by Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina.

✓ The migration of Negroes to the North (and of whites too) has not been confined to the wage-earning class. For a long time there has been a steady migration of persons at the upper economic and educational levels, especially among the younger people. Of Negroes listed in *Who's Who in Colored America* (1928–29), 76.7 per cent were born in the South, but only 39.4 per cent lived there. The shift from the South for this group amounts to 37.3 per cent. It is significant that southern-born whites listed in *Who's Who in America* (1932–33) showed a percentage loss to the South of the native born of distinction of almost identically the same amount (37.1 per cent) as the Negro leaders.

During the Second World War occurred another migration of Negroes from farms and agricultural communities to industrial centers, North, South, and West. The total number of such migrants has been estimated at approximately one million. In contrast to the period of the First World War and the early twenties, this movement was not predominantly to the North. The migration started in the rural South but terminated in war-boom cities regardless of geographical location. War industry was much more widely spread than in the First World War. A large number of Southern Negroes found employment in the steel mills of Birmingham and Houston and the aircraft and shell-loading plants in various Southern urban centers, and especially in the shipyards

of Hampton Roads, Savannah, Charleston, Mobile, and New Orleans. Border cities such as Baltimore, Washington, and Wilmington received tens of thousands of new Negro residents. Northern cities like Chicago, Detroit, and Philadelphia received large numbers of such migrants, but the really significant change occurred on the West Coast. In the five congested production areas in the West—Los Angeles, Portland-Vancouver, Puget Sound, San Diego, and San Francisco—the Negro population grew from approximately 107,000 in 1940 to about 228,000 in 1944, an increase of more than 113 per cent. The largest absolute increase (59,000) occurred in the Los Angeles area, where the Negro population grew from 75,000 in 1940 to 134,000 in 1944.

The areas which received the largest increases of Negroes have been, with few exceptions, those in which racial tensions have been most acute. This has been particularly true in Detroit, Mobile, Charleston, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Philadelphia, and Washington. Although in-migration is not the sole cause of racial disturbances, it has been a strong contributing factor.

The migration of Negroes has become more than a passing phenomenon, and we may expect a further shifting of the Negro population in the future. From the point of view of race relations this migration has improved conditions in the South and increased race friction in the North and West. From the standpoint of the country as a whole and that of the general welfare of Negroes the movement has been beneficial.

Although Negroes entered war industries after much delay and although they never shared equally with the whites, nevertheless they made substantial gains in industrial employment during the Second World War. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics reported in January, 1945, that about one million Negroes were added to the work force of the nation between 1940 and 1944. The number of Negroes employed in manufacturing increased during this period from 500,000 to 1,256,000, with some 693,000 of these being employed in munitions industries. Despite the resistance to the upgrading of Negroes, the number employed at skilled jobs doubled, as did the number of semiskilled colored workers. The number of Negro women in industry quadrupled. But the most significant development was the employment of Negroes in new industries and plants where they entered occupations which few had followed before the war.

During the earlier phases of the defense effort, the Negro benefited little if at all from the expanding need for workers in essential war industries. He was called upon, however, to fill a great variety of nondefense jobs, many of which were once denied him, such as salespeople in department stores, clerks and operators in the telephone industry, waitresses, clerical workers, trolley and bus drivers. The more or less public character of transportation positions made the innovation of Negroes in this field a matter of significance. Despite the claims of management and union officials that the public would refuse to accept Negro streetcar and bus operators, there were no protests. Trouble arose in Philadelphia where the city's transportation was tied up for six days, but that was due solely to white strikers. By 1945 over 2,000 Negroes were employed in 15 cities as streetcar conductors, motormen, and bus drivers. Also certain railroads upgraded waiters to stewards and started employing Negro firemen for the first time in a generation.

The delay in employing Negroes in the expanding war industries was due to numerous factors, among which were the large number of white workers available in the initial stages, the lack of training on the part of Negro workers, the opposition of trade unions, the prejudice of employers and their inexperience with Negro workers, and the white worker's fear of the colored worker as an economic competitor. In short, as Weaver has pointed out, the tenacity with which America clung to its established color-caste system in occupations delayed the use of our total manpower for three long years, though the nation was at war. In the last analysis it was sheer economic necessity that forced acceptance of the Negro in war industries. Most Negro warworkers were in the larger industrial centers where tight labor markets first appeared, and in most industries they were concentrated in certain large plants rather than being employed generally.

The employment and particularly the upgrading of Negroes brought "hate strikes" and riots in dozens of centers as, for example, in Detroit where the upgrading of Negroes at the Hudson Arsenal and Packard Motors was met with hate strikes by white fellow workers; in Lockland, Ohio, where 12,000 workers in the Wright Aeronautical plant walked out—on D Day!—because seven Negroes were transferred to a "white" department; and in Mobile, Alabama, where a riot occurred following the promotion of

a small group of Negroes to posts as welders at the Alabama Drydock and Shipbuilding Company. On the other hand, the instances were more numerous where no friction occurred. Especially was this the case where management developed a definite plan of integrating Negroes into industry by carefully selecting the first ones to be brought in, preparing the staff for the introduction of Negro workers, and adopting the policy of no segregation and no discrimination. The lesson was learned that when management takes the attitude of positive leadership and when strong unions, whose officers and members mutually respect one another, support the program, the integration of Negro workers is accomplished successfully.

The employment of Negroes during the war period was aided by the Fair Employment Practice Committee which was appointed to implement President Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802, issued in June, 1941, prohibiting discrimination in defense employment or in government service because of race, creed, color, or national origin. The Committee ended its activities in July, 1946. Lacking legislative authority and legal sanction, its main weapons were publicity and moral pressure. It experienced more difficulty in securing compliance with its orders from unions than from employers. Although its results were not significant from a quantitative point of view, it established the principle of Federal concern about racial discrimination in employment and led to a campaign for legislative action. Four states (New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Connecticut) and a number of cities had set up effective Fair Employment Practice Commissions by 1947, and similar laws were passed by New Mexico, Oregon, and Washington in 1949.

Reconversion of industry to peacetime activities brought no major downgrading in the occupational composition of the Negro workers. Such warworkers were discharged and downgraded at a faster rate than others, but this was to be expected from the normal application of seniority rules to employment cutbacks. Negro workers had entered war service last of all groups and, having acquired the least seniority, were the first to be dropped. But the maintenance of high labor demand during the transition period enabled Negro workers to hold on to many of their wartime gains. What their situation in the future will be will depend

in large part upon the degree to which full employment of all available manpower is achieved.

URBANIZATION OF THE NEGRO

The migration of the Negro has led to his increasing urbanization. At one time almost completely rural, he has followed, though belatedly, the trend of the whites toward the city. In 1900 only 22.7 per cent of the Negro population was urban. This percentage

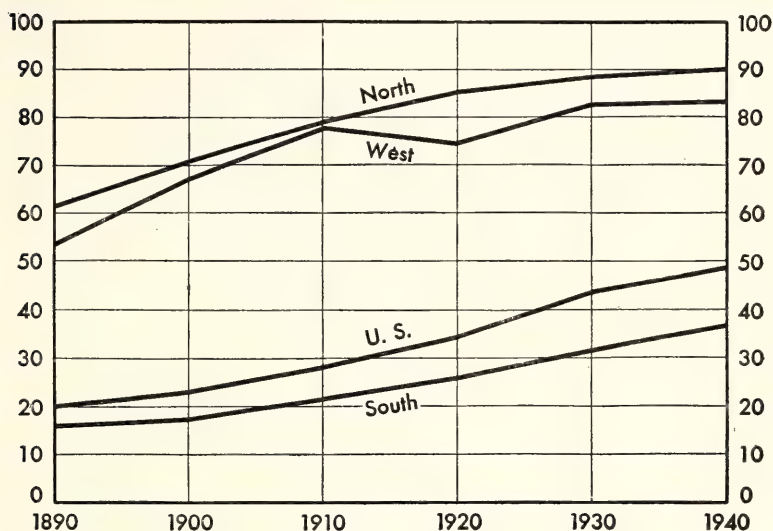


FIG. 3. Per cent urban of the Negro population, by sections, 1890-1940.

increased to 27.4 in 1910, 34.0 in 1920, 43.7 in 1930, and 48.6 in 1940. There has been a steady increase since 1910 in the percentage of the Negro urban population in the South as a whole, and Negro families are beginning definitely to show the transition from rural to city ways—from homogeneous racial grouping to class divisions, from low-money economy to wage labor and direct trade, from control of behavior by custom and direct force to control by the impersonal regulation of laws and ordinances and codes of industrial practice. The cityward migration has also tended to increase the self-respect and race consciousness of Negroes.

The tendency toward urbanization of the Negro is much more pronounced in the North and the West, where the Negro popu-

lation, according to the 1940 Census, was, respectively, 89.4 and 83.1 per cent urban as contrasted with 36.4 per cent in the South. Nearly 40 per cent of the Negro population in the North is concentrated in the four cities of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Detroit, each of which has more than 100,000 Negroes. More than two-thirds of the Negro population in the North is in large cities (those with a total population of 100,000 or more inhabitants). In many Southern cities the proportion of Negroes in the total population has been decreasing while in the Northern cities the proportion has been increasing. This suggests that the direction of the movement is from rural area to the town to the city in the South and then to the larger city in the North.

In 1910 there was not a city in the nation with as many as 100,000 Negroes. In 1920 there were six; in 1930 there were seven. The Census of 1940 reported eleven such cities (the four Northern cities mentioned above and Washington, Baltimore, New Orleans, Memphis, Birmingham, St. Louis, and Atlanta). There were nine cities in which Negroes numbered between 50,000 and 100,000 (the five Northern cities of Cleveland, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Indianapolis, and the four Southern cities of Houston, Jacksonville, Richmond, and Dallas). The largest concentration of urban Negroes is in New York City, which had 458,444 in 1940, located largely in Harlem. This is not merely a Negro colony or community; it is a city within a city, the greatest Negro city in the world. Harlem contains more Negroes to the square mile than any other spot on earth.

The cityward and northward migration of Negroes with its accompanying shift to business and industry has tended to increase race friction. There is less competition and consequently less antagonism in agriculture than in other lines of work. On the other hand, economic and cultural opportunities are greater in urban employment. The trends noted above are indicative of a revolutionary change in the status of the Negro. At the time of emancipation the Negro population, with the exception of a few skilled tradesmen and domestic servants, was entirely confined to farming in the rural South. In 1940, nearly half of the Negroes lived in cities, and a fifth were in the North, while two-thirds of Negro workers were engaged in nonagricultural pursuits.

COMPARATIVE STATUS OF THE NEGRO IN THE NORTH AND IN
THE SOUTH

Despite the migration of Negroes, the great majority of them still remain in the South. Of the 12,865,518 Negroes in the United States in 1940, 9,904,619 resided in Southern states. At least for a long time to come there does not appear to be any likelihood that the distribution of Negroes between the North and the South will be reversed or that they will become uniformly distributed throughout the country, although selective migration will continue to play an important role. Economic advantages for the great mass of Negroes will no doubt be basic in determining their distribution. There are some reasons for thinking that there are, and will continue to be, more economic advantages for them in the South than in the North. The economic prosperity of the South depends largely on the Negroes, who constitute the basic common labor supply, comparable to the role played by the immigrants in the North.

Booker T. Washington once stated (*Selected Speeches of Booker T. Washington*, p. 81):

The black man finds in these Southern states an open sesame in labor, industry, and business that is not surpassed anywhere. . . . It is here that that form of slavery which prevents a man from selling his labor to whom he pleases on account of his color is almost unknown. We have had slavery, now dead, that forced an individual to labor without a salary, but none that compelled a man to live in idleness while his family starved.

On another occasion he remarked that the Negro may be denied the right to vote in the South, but he is denied the right to earn his bread in the North. Other Southern Negro leaders have commented on the greater discrimination against the Negro, especially in skilled work, in the North, a situation intensified by the exclusive attitude of certain labor unions. Robert R. Moton, Washington's successor at Tuskegee Institute, also believed that the South was the best place for the large majority of the Negro race, with greater opportunities for farm ownership and with less competition in business. A Southern white planter, A. H. Stone, has pointed out that the Negro in the South is not kept down to menial tasks but may be found in the professions, in business, and in the skilled crafts. Though more recently there

has been an increasing competition with white wage earners, other writers, such as Greene and Woodson, and Stewart, hold that the opportunities to conduct business enterprises and to engage in professional pursuits are greater in the South than in the North, where the mass of Negro population still resides and where Negro schools, universities, and other institutions are mainly located. Though there are fewer industries in the South than in the North, the South is experiencing a rapid industrial development which will provide increasing opportunities for Negroes. Southern Negroes are already in business to a greater extent than are Northern Negroes. The only Negro daily newspaper in America is printed not in Harlem but in Atlanta, Georgia; the largest Negro insurance company is located in Durham, North Carolina; the majority of Negro banks are in the South; as are practically all the farms that they own. Owning property, having money to invest, holding titles to valuable oil fields and lumber tracts, they are irrevocably tied up in anything that touches the South.

Moreover, provided that the Negro "keeps his place," which is that of an inferior in all respects, he finds that in the essential struggle for existence the spirit of the South is one of helpfulness. "It was simply amazing to me," Ray Stannard Baker (p. 37) reported, "considering the bitterness of racial feeling, to see how lavish many white families are in giving food, clothing, and money to individual Negroes whom they know." This is the generosity of the master to the servant. It has long been said, and with much truth, that Southern whites, while they may hate and fear the Negroes as a race, understand and like them as individuals, while in the North the reverse obtains. The Negro who violates the color line, who invades the world regarded as white, or who usurps roles conceived as too high for him is disliked. He is apt to be maligned, feared, and hated; whereas the Negro who "keeps his place" may be praised, favored, and rewarded. As Klineberg (p. 194) expresses the contrast:

In the North, the Negro is granted theoretical equality, but there is little personal contact between the races and little interest in the Negro on the part of whites; in the South, the Negro is denied equality, but there is considerable personal contact and frequently direct assistance of Negroes by whites. Southern writers emphasize the kindness of Southerners to individual Negroes, whereas Northerners

tend to emphasize the theoretical equality in the North as contrasted with the denial of equality in the South.

In the South, then, the Negro finds more economic advantages, a wider range of employment, more sympathy and understanding as an individual. On the other hand, the Negro finds in the North higher wages, better housing and living conditions, better educational advantages, more political and civil rights, and more opportunities for self-expression. The relative advantages of the two sections will determine the direction and amount of migration. In general we may expect that the more enterprising and ambitious Negroes will continue to migrate to the North, while the great mass will remain in the South with an increasing trend to the cities.

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CHAPTER 5

ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE NEGRO

The Negroes show a wide range of occupational distribution, and at the same time they contrast rather sharply with the whites. The accompanying table shows the per cent distribution of gainful Negro workers in 1930 according to the tenfold occupational classification adopted by the Bureau of the Census and, for comparative purposes, that of native whites and foreign-born whites. This basis of classification was not used in the Census of 1940.

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFUL WORKERS 10 YEARS OLD
AND OVER, 1930, BY MAJOR INDUSTRY

Major industry	Negro	Native white	Foreign- born white
All occupations	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture	36.1	21.4	9.1
Forestry and fishing	0.6	0.5	0.6
Extraction of minerals	1.4	1.9	3.1
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	18.6	27.5	44.1
Transportation and communi- cation	7.2	8.2	* 6.6
Trade	3.3	13.7	13.7
Public service	0.9	1.9	1.6
Professional service	2.5	7.9	4.4
Domestic and personal service	28.6	6.6	12.7
Clerical occupations	0.7	10.4	4.1

SOURCE: Adapted from *Abstract of the Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930*, p. 331.

One of the most striking things revealed in this table is the great concentration of Negroes in agriculture and in domestic and

personal service as contrasted with the occupational distribution of the whites. Both native and foreign-born whites are especially prominent in manufacturing and mechanical industries, trade, professional service, and clerical occupations, with the foreign-born whites being especially prominent in manufacturing and mechanical industries and native whites in professional service and in clerical occupations.

In the various occupational classifications Negroes will be generally found in the less skilled and poorer paid positions. This situation is emphasized, among other ways, by noting the specific occupations in which Negroes predominate. Negro gainful workers exceeded those of all other classes in ten occupations in 1930. Of the 911,943 persons engaged in these occupations, 72 per cent were Negroes, who constituted 12 per cent of the Negroes reported as gainfully employed. The occupations in which Negroes predominated were bootblacks; cooks other than in hotels, restaurants, and boardinghouses; laborers in cigar and tobacco factories; laborers and operatives in fertilizer factories; laborers and operatives in turpentine farms and distilleries; launderers and laundresses not in laundries; and midwives.

NEGRO FAMILY INCOME

The incomes of Negro families are invariably below those of white families. The accompanying table based on a sample study reveals not only this but also the increasing average income for both Negroes and whites as one proceeds from the rural South to the urban South to the urban North.

According to the *Current Population Reports on Consumer Income*, issued by the Bureau of the Census, the median family income in 1945 was \$2,718 for whites and \$1,538 for Negroes. For rural-farm families the amounts were, respectively, \$1,602 and \$559; and for urban families \$3,085 and \$2,052. The income of Negro families was lower than that of white families in every region of the nation. Though Negroes comprise 9.8 per cent of the total population of the United States, their share in the national income, according to Myrdal (p. 307), does not exceed 4 per cent and is probably around 3 per cent.

Although it is common knowledge that there is some conspicuous consumption and reckless spending even among poor Negroes, nevertheless, according to the *Study of Consumer Purchases*,

AVERAGE INCOMES OF WHITE AND NEGRO FAMILIES (NONRELIEF)
IN SOUTHERN RURAL COMMUNITIES AND CITIES AND IN NORTH
CENTRAL CITIES, 1935-1936

Region and type of community	Average income per family			
	Median		Mean	
	White	Negro	White	Negro
Southern rural communities.....	\$1,100	\$ 480	\$1,535	\$ 566
Southern cities of 2,500 population and over	1,570	525	2,019	635
North Central cities of 100,000 population and over.....	1,720	1,095	2,616	1,227

SOURCE: U.S. National Resources Committee, *Consumer Incomes in the United States*, p. 28.

1935-1936 made by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Negroes consistently balance their budgets better than do whites in the same income groups. Myrdal (pp. 368-370) thinks that the general notions about Negro improvidence are greatly exaggerated. Negroes have been taught by their tradition of poverty to economize. Negro women do more work in their own homes than do white women and have fewer conveniences and labor-saving appliances. Yet they take on gainful employment outside of their homes to a much greater extent than do white women. Urban Negroes, on the other hand, were found to allocate a smaller part of their total expenditure to basic necessities and a larger part of it for clothing, personal care, recreation, and similar items than did white families with similar incomes. But "the absolute amounts that most Negro families can spend on things other than basic necessities are extremely small. Most Negro families are much too poor to develop into real spendthrifts."

On the other hand, Drake and Cayton maintain in *Black Metropolis* (p. 389) that because of the limitations placed on Negro employment ("the job ceiling") and residence ("the black ghetto"), it has become customary among the masses of Negroes in America to center their interest upon living in the immediate

present or upon going to heaven—upon “having a good time” or “praising the Lord.”

Though some derive their prestige from the respect accorded them by the white world or by the professional and business segments of the Negro world, most Negroes seem to adopt a pattern of conspicuous behavior and conspicuous consumption. Maintaining a “front” and “showing off” become very important substitutes for getting ahead in the economic sense.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND RELIEF

The lower average income of the Negro is due in part to his higher rate of unemployment. The 1937 Unemployment Census revealed that 26 per cent of the colored males as compared with 18 per cent of the white males in the labor force were totally unemployed or on emergency work in November of that year. The figures for females in the labor force were 32 and 24 per cent, respectively. The race differential was particularly pronounced in the North and in large cities. The 1940 Census on *The Labor Force* disclosed a much lower general level of unemployment and also a lower race differential. The percentages of persons seeking work were for Negroes and whites, respectively, 10.8 and 9.3 for males, and 11.3 and 9.7 for females.

Because of their higher rate of unemployment and because of their smaller resources, proportionally more Negroes than whites were on relief during the depression period of the 1930's. In 1935, for example, approximately one-fourth of the Negroes were on relief as compared with less than one-seventh of the whites. The figures for cities, where unemployment was greater, were 39 per cent of Negroes on relief and 14 per cent of whites. For urban Negroes public relief became one of their major occupations. In the Federal welfare program, under such agencies as WPA, NYA, CCC, FSA, and Social Security, the Negroes, according to Sterner's comprehensive study, shared in proportion to population, but their need was greater; and they were concentrated in the South where grants were smaller in general and also smaller for Negroes than for whites.

NEGRO EMPLOYED WORKERS

Despite the popular notion that Negroes are less industrious than whites, a higher percentage of them are in the nation's labor

force than is the case with the whites. In 1940, 58.2 per cent of the Negro population fourteen years old and over was in the labor force, as compared with 51.6 per cent of the white population. The Negro average tends to be raised by the high rate of gainful employment among colored women. The percentage of employed males in 1940 was 80.1 for Negroes and 78.7 for whites. Among females, the percentages were 37.8 for Negroes as compared with 24.1 for whites. Practically two in five Negro women, in contrast to one in four white women, work for their living. In all, one and a half million Negro women are classed as gainful workers.

The main reason why larger proportions of Negro than of white women work lies in the low scale of earnings of Negro men. The situation may also reflect the greater stability of Negro women, a factor of some significance, as we shall later see, in the history of the Negro family. To their lot have fallen, as in the case of Negro men, the more menial, the lower paid, and the more hazardous jobs. In pre-Civil-War days the employment of the Negro woman was almost completely restricted to agriculture and domestic service. In 1940 about 85 per cent of Negro women still were engaged in these fields, with 70 per cent of them in domestic and personal service. The major occupational shift for Negro women has been mainly from agriculture to domestic service although since 1910 increases have been shown in the professions, in clerical work, and in factory employment.

The low income of Negro breadwinners is further indicated by the prevalence of child labor. The 1940 Census did not report specifically on this, but in 1930, 16.1 per cent of Negro children ten to fifteen years of age were gainfully occupied, as contrasted with but 3.3 per cent of native white children and 2.2 per cent of foreign-born white children of the same age grouping. Negro child labor is especially prevalent in the rural South where there is practically no vocal public sentiment against it. Indeed, it is so officially countenanced that the public schools as a matter of course expect children of tenants to attend only when they are not required in the fields.

A clearer and more significant picture of occupational status than that given by the Census classification in the table on p. 107 is provided by the socio-economic grouping of employed workers presented in the accompanying table. The major occupational

groupings employed by the Bureau of the Census are more in the nature of a classification of industries than of occupations. Within each category is included a wide range of specific occupations. The socio-economic grouping, on the other hand, which is based on specific occupations, brings together all the workers belonging to the same socio-economic class without particular reference to the general divisions of occupations such as agriculture, extraction of minerals, and manufacturing and mechanical industries. It was developed by Dr. Alba M. Edwards of the Bureau of the Census, who has applied it to the census data of 1940, as follows:

EMPLOYED WORKERS IN THE UNITED STATES CLASSIFIED INTO
SOCIAL-ECONOMIC GROUPS, BY COLOR, 1940

Social-economic grouping	Per cent distribution by color	
	Negro	White
Professional persons.....	2.6	7.5
Proprietors, managers, and officials...	16.1	20.2
Clerks and kindred workers.....	2.2	19.5
Skilled workers and foremen.....	2.9	12.4
Semiskilled workers.....	12.3	21.4
Unskilled workers.....	63.9	19.0
Total.....	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Adapted from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Comparative Occupation Statistics for the United States, 1870-1940*, p. 189.

In contrast to the white employed workers, the Negroes show a smaller percentage in every class save that of unskilled workers, which includes nearly two-thirds of all the Negro workers. The relatively large proportion of Negroes classed as proprietors, managers, and officials is explained by the fact that this grouping includes farm owners and tenants, a field of work in which many Negroes in the South are engaged. If the approximately 300,000 Negro croppers be considered unskilled, then 7 out of 10 employed Negro workers are in unskilled pursuits. It is especially

in professional, clerical, and skilled work that Negroes are so greatly under-represented. If we may take the first three groups in the table as comprising headworkers and the last three groups as comprising handworkers, then in contrast to the almost equal

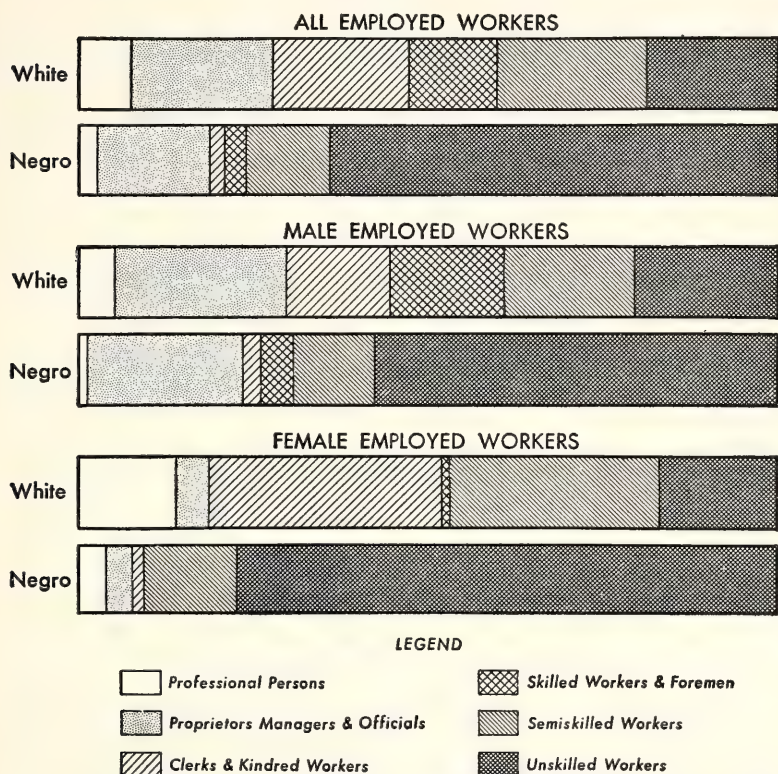


FIG. 4. Social-economic groups of employed workers (except on public emergency work), by color and sex, for the United States, 1940.

division of the whites between these two groups, the ratio of handworkers to headworkers among the Negroes is four to one.

Dr. Edwards has also provided comparable statistics for 1910, 1920, and 1930, which will be referred to later when discussing trends. We will follow his classification in our discussion of the economic status of the Negro. The number of Negro workers, by sex, according to these groupings (with some breakdowns) is shown in the accompanying table. It should be recalled that the

number of employed Negroes increased by approximately one million from 1940 to 1945.

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF NEGRO EMPLOYED WORKERS IN THE UNITED STATES CLASSIFIED INTO SOCIAL-ECONOMIC GROUPS, BY SEX, 1940

Group	Total		Male		Female	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Professional persons.....	114,792	2.6	49,485	1.7	65,307	4.2
Proprietors, managers, and officials	720,361	16.1	663,237	22.6	57,124	3.7
Farmers (owners and tenants)...	665,939	14.9	619,744	21.1	46,195	3.0
Wholesale and retail dealers.....	29,001	0.6	24,562	0.8	4,439	0.3
Other proprietors, managers, and officials.....	25,421	0.6	18,931	0.6	6,490	0.4
Clerks and kindred workers.....	97,325	2.2	75,738	2.6	21,587	1.4
Skilled workers and foremen.....	130,525	2.9	128,762	4.4	1,763	0.1
Semiskilled workers.....	551,701	12.3	344,228	11.7	207,473	13.5
Unskilled workers.....	2,864,364	63.9	1,675,345	57.0	1,189,019	77.1
Farm laborers.....	799,120	17.8	600,317	20.4	198,803	12.9
Laborers, except farm.....	685,512	15.3	672,544	22.9	12,968	0.8
Servant classes.....	1,379,732	30.8	402,484	13.7	997,248	63.4
All groups.....	4,479,068	100.0	2,936,795	100.0	1,542,273	100.0

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Comparative Occupational Statistics, 1870-1940*, p. 189.

Although the percentage distribution of Negro workers according to socio-economic class is less favorable than that of the whites, there is nevertheless within the Negro group a comparable vertical stratification. The upper economic class of Negroes may be taken to include professional persons, farm owners, and business proprietors. These are the leaders of their race, economically the best situated, spiritually the most uncomfortable. Although Negroes of all classes suffer discrimination, the upper class resent it most. The situation is intensified by the failure of whites to recognize distinctions among the Negroes. In the South the separate social life of whites and Negroes is especially marked among groups of the same economic level. It is almost physically impossible for whites and Negroes to know each other in any way except in the employer-employee, the master-servant, relationship. The upper class of Negroes are more separated from the whites than any other class of Negroes since to recognize their status

would involve treating them as socially equal or superior. In practice there are some exceptions to this general rule of segregation. The exceptions most often apply to the social extremes—on the one hand, the new Negro professional and business classes involved in relations with similar classes of the white population, and occasional intelligentsia, artists, and the like; and on the other hand, criminals, prostitutes, outcasts, and others not rigidly bound by the mores—and they are usually in private relations and thus escape the more serious censure of public opinion.

PROFESSIONAL PERSONS

According to the socio-economic grouping of Negro workers, 2.6 per cent, or 114,792 individuals, were reported to be in the professions. The first profession to be developed among the Negroes was that of preaching, which goes back to slavery days. Teaching, the law, medicine, and other callings were later added. Negro teachers now have taken the numerical lead over Negro preachers; in fact, more than half the professional group is made up of teachers, who outnumber the preachers four to one. The table on p. 116 gives the number of Negroes in the principal professions in 1940. As judged by the number of Negro inhabitants per professional person, the only professional fields among Negroes that are at all adequately developed are teaching and preaching. It should be noted further that the great majority of Negroes of the professional classes, especially those in education and religion, are in the South. On the other hand, the ratio of Negroes in the professions is higher in the North and West than in the South; when considered by sex, this statement holds true for male but not for female professional workers.

Professional occupations among Negroes depend for the most part upon the Negroes themselves. The doctors in the main have only Negro patients, Negro lawyers have Negro clients, Negro preachers serve Negro parishes, and Negro teachers teach in Negro schools. This limitation, or exclusion, from the larger white economy severely restricts the opportunities for Negroes to reach an upper or middle class status. It also makes the occupational distribution in the professions skewed, for while the Negro community provides places for a fair number of teachers, preachers, and physicians, it does not offer much chance for, say, architects and engineers, of whom there were listed in the Census of 1940

NUMBER OF NEGROES ENGAGED IN THE PRINCIPAL PROFESSIONS,
BY SECTIONS, 1940

Professional persons	United States	The South	The North	The West
Schoolteachers.....	66,104	59,063	6,761	280
Clergymen.....	17,487	13,448	3,685	354
Musicians and music teachers	9,157	2,693	5,746	718
Trained nurses.....	7,192	3,895	3,131	166
Physicians and surgeons.....	3,530	1,876	1,567	87
College presidents, professors and instructors.....	2,365	2,135	226	4
Dentists.....	1,611	761	800	50
Lawyers, judges, and justices	1,063	330	688	45
All other.....	6,283	2,271	3,629	383
Total.....	114,792	86,472	26,233	2,087

SOURCE: Adapted from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Population*, Vol. III, *The Labor Force*, Part I, *United States Summary*, pp. 91-96.

only 80 and 238 respectively. Further, it leads to the development of vested interests in separate Negro schools, libraries, hospitals, churches, and welfare organizations. Negro professional workers tend to form an aristocracy within the race and to become jealous of their privileged position and to be vitally concerned with maintaining it. To abolish segregation, as Frazier points out, would create technological unemployment for many Negroes who secure a living from the existence of segregation.

At the same time that segregation assures employment for Negro professionals, it limits their professional development and financial returns and fosters discrimination. For example, in the Southern states with a segregated school system Negro teachers have regularly received less pay than white teachers with comparable training and experience. Equalization suits have been successfully brought in a number of states, beginning with Maryland in 1939. In spite of the gradual trend toward equalization of remuneration, wide differences in teachers' salaries still persist. In the 14 Southern states reporting on this item for 1941-1942, according to *The Negro Handbook, 1946-1947* (edited by Florence

Murray, p. 130), average salaries for Negroes ranged from \$226 in Mississippi to \$1,593 in Maryland in comparison with a range for whites from \$712 in Mississippi to \$1,796 in Delaware. In 6 of the 14 states reporting, the average annual salary of Negro teachers was less than \$600. The first Southern state to equalize salaries was North Carolina, beginning in the school year 1944-1945. On the other hand, in the nonsegregated school system in the North, Negro teachers, though they have found less opportunity for employment, have received equal pay for equal work. Outstanding examples of the employment of Negro teachers in the North are furnished by Chicago where some 600 are teaching in the public schools and New York where a large number may be found teaching not only in the Negro section but all over the city. A recent significant trend has been the appointment of Negroes to Northern college faculty posts. Before the Second World War, in spite of the fact that there were hundreds of Negroes with graduate degrees from Northern colleges, there was not a single Negro on the regular faculty of any Northern college or university. By 1947 at least 78 Negro men and women had been added to the faculties of such institutions, 29 of them on continuing assignment. Over thirty institutions have taken this step, including state universities like Minnesota and Wisconsin, women's colleges like Vassar and Smith, and private institutions like Harvard and the University of Chicago.

The Negro professional worker encounters special handicaps. For example, the Negro desiring to enter medicine finds that most white schools are closed to him, while there are but two first-class Negro medical schools, Meharry Medical College and the School of Medicine of Howard University, which also have the only schools of dentistry. There are a limited number of hospitals in which colored medical graduates may receive training as internes. In 1946 there were 146 hospitals operated for, and mainly conducted by, Negroes, of which 126 were approved by the American Medical Association. Of this number, 12 were governmental. Only 9 were approved for internship training. There are only about 10 white hospitals, all in the North, that give the Negro doctor the same opportunity for training as that afforded any other citizen; prominent among these are Cook County Hospital in Chicago and Harlem Hospital and Bellevue Hospital of New York. In 1944 Sydenham Hospital in New York became the

first inter-racial hospital in the United States, with an inter-racial staff serving an inter-racial clientele.

The local units of the American Medical Association invariably in the South and commonly in the North refuse to give recognition to Negro doctors. There are not more than three hundred Negro members of the association. That this policy of exclusion works a hardship on the colored physician is seen, among other ways, in the fact that membership in the A.M.A. is a requirement before certification to a specialty board and appointment to a hospital. The late Dr. Algernon B. Jackson of Philadelphia was the only Negro up to 1947 to have been admitted to the American College of Physicians. Only two Negroes had been accepted as Fellows of the American College of Surgeons prior to 1945, when it was charged with restricting its Negro membership: the late Dr. Daniel H. Williams of Chicago, the first surgeon in the world to perform a successful operation on the human heart, and Dr. Louis T. Wright, distinguished surgeon of New York. In the following two years 15 additional surgeons were made Fellows. The American Medical Association has placed the letters "col." after the names of all colored physicians appearing in its medical directory. Because of the exclusive attitude of the A.M.A., colored doctors, North and South, have formed a separate union, the Negro National Medical Association, which in 1947 enrolled about 2,400 of the 4,000 Negro doctors.

Similar discrimination against Negro lawyers by the American Bar Association has led to the formation of the colored National Bar Association. In 1943 the American Bar Association elected a Negro, Justice James S. Watson of New York, the first to be admitted since 1912 when three Negroes, who were not known to be Negroes, were accepted. The same year the Federal Bar Association of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut opened its membership to Negro attorneys and condemned the "undemocratic attitude and policy" of the American Bar Association for discriminating against Negro members. In the actual practice of law so great are the limitations in the South that the majority of Negro lawyers have settled in the North.

Preachers in the South and sometimes in the North are also organized in separate associations on a color basis. In 1908 Negro nurses organized the National Association for Colored Graduate Nurses in an attempt to remove the discrimination and limitations

facing the group. Since then, opportunities for training have expanded, though they are still restricted primarily to schools organized exclusively for Negroes. The greatest gains in employment have been in New York where, in 1942, more than 300 Negro nurses were serving in the Department of Health as a result of competitive examinations and 1,250 in the Department of Hospitals. In 1946 the American Nurses Association took a liberal step in establishing a direct national membership whereby qualified nurses who cannot for local reasons enter their county societies may nevertheless become members of the A.N.A. by direct application and election.

FARM OWNERS AND BUSINESS PROPRIETORS

Included under the 720,361 Negro workers listed as proprietors, managers, and officials are mainly farm owners and tenants, chiefly male. We have already noted that Negro farm owners in 1940 numbered 173,628 in the South. To this number should be added 382 in other regions, making a total of 174,010 for the United States. Approximately four-fifths of all Negro farm operators are tenants, and in the South most of them are sharecroppers. The remaining fifty-odd thousand workers listed under this general classification are wholesale and retail dealers and businessmen generally.

As in the case of Negro professional work, Negro business is almost entirely confined to the Negro group, a poverty-stricken minority. Moreover, it has to compete with the economically stronger whites for this trade, even within restricted Negro areas. For example, although Negro enterprises constitute almost half of the businesses in the Negro neighborhoods in Chicago, they receive only one-tenth of all the money spent by Negroes within these areas. Under this double handicap Negro business has been largely restricted to small retail stores and the service type of establishment, especially to racial enterprises such as barbershops, beauty parlors, and mortuary establishments, where the whites do not care to compete. Other handicaps are the lack of credit facilities, restricted opportunities for business training, and general isolation from the interlocked movement of commerce.

According to the U.S. *Census of Business, 1939*, there were 27,368 Negro service establishments having total annual receipts of \$36,653,000 and employing 14,180 people; 54 per cent of these

establishments were in the South, 39 per cent in the North, and 7 per cent in the West. Whereas the Negro population constituted 9.8 per cent of the total population of the United States at the Census of 1940, the service establishments operated by Negro proprietors in 1939 represented 4.2 per cent of the total number of such establishments and 1.1 per cent of the total receipts. Four out of every ten Negro service establishments were barbershops or beauty parlors. Next in numerical importance came shoeshine parlors; cleaning, dyeing, pressing, alteration, and repair shops; shoe-repair shops; and funeral establishments. Together these accounted for 80 per cent of all Negro service establishments—a degree of specialization that has no counterpart among the whites. This situation is in part an outgrowth of the Negro's long concentration in personal and domestic service. Some of the largest Negro fortunes have been made in the field of preparations for the skin and hair.

Other types of business prominent among Negroes are retail stores, banks, and insurance companies. According to the census of retail distribution in 1939, there were 29,827 stores operated by Negroes, employing 13,778 persons, and with gross sales of \$71,466,000. They constituted 1.6 per cent of all retail stores, and their sales not quite 0.2 per cent of total sales. This is a much smaller proportion than would be expected on a population basis. Seventy per cent of these stores were in the South. Eighty per cent of all Negro retail establishments were food stores and eating and drinking places.

The Negro bank is more than a financial institution; it is a symbol of the Negro's aspirations to enter the commercial life of the nation and a mark of his faith in his own ability and competence. Despite the catastrophes overtaking two-thirds of the Negro banks during the depression, there were reported in 1945 to be 12 banks owned and operated by Negroes, with total assets of some \$15,000,000. With the exception of one bank in Philadelphia—the Citizens and Southern Bank and Trust Company, founded by Major R. R. Wright, one of the most celebrated of Negro businessmen—all these were in the South, including the District of Columbia. There were also 74 active Negro credit unions organized under the Federal act.

From the standpoint of the amount of capital concentrated, the largest field of business in which Negroes are engaged is insurance.

In 1944 there were 46 member companies of the National Negro Insurance Association, with \$630,000,000 worth of insurance in force on approximately 3,700,000 policies. Their combined admitted assets were about \$60,000,000. The North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, under the presidency of Charles C. Spaulding, is probably the largest business enterprise in the world operated by and for Negroes. The success of Negro insurance companies is noteworthy in view of the fact that their rates, based on the less favorable life expectancy of Negroes, are higher than those of white insurance companies.

Since the upper economic class of Negroes is sustained almost entirely by Negro patronage—the only large source of “outside” revenue available to this group being the salaries of teachers in Negro public schools and colleges and some government employees—it has found a vested interest in the maintenance of a separate Negro economy. It is now planning, through business associations, propaganda, and other methods, to secure a larger share of the economic activities of Negroes, especially in the fields of consumers’ goods and services. The Negro businessman faces a dilemma. As Joseph A. Pierce (pp. 24–25) expresses it: “On the one hand, he wishes to integrate his business into the general American economy but finds that caste walls block his efforts and hinder his economic progress. On the other hand, he has a vested interest in racial segregation since it gives him what opportunities he has.” This has led him too frequently to rely upon “race pride” as an incentive for patronage rather than upon service, quality of merchandise, and competitive prices. The only Negro business that can hope to expand and develop adequately in the American economy is one that partakes completely of the characteristics of American business. There are some slight trends in this direction. Meantime, though the segregated Negro economy narrows the activity of the Negro business and professional classes, it is today the main path of economic progress for them, and it may operate to improve the status and power of the whole Negro group.

CLERKS AND KINDRED WORKERS

The clerical group of Negro workers, numbering 97,325 in 1940, is the smallest of the socio-economic classes, being but 2.2 per cent of the total group. Some of this white-collar group are

employed by Negro professional and businessmen, some by white concerns with a colored clientele, but the majority are employees of the government. In a number of instances the employment by white stores of Negro clerks and salespeople has come about as a result of pressure exerted by the Negro buying public. The chief weapon used is the trade boycott, expressed in the slogan "Don't buy where you can't work," which some Negro newspapers sympathizing with the movement have regularly carried on their mastheads. Such pressure programs have been used most effectively in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and the District of Columbia. The main increase in the employment of Negro clerks and salespeople, however, came during the Second World War when there was a labor scarcity due to military and government service and the transfer of civilian workers to essential war industries. The activities of the Fair Employment Practice Commissions has also opened up new opportunities for Negroes in this field. Moreover, a number of national firms, in an attempt to develop the Negro market, estimated at a purchasing power of several billion dollars a year, have hired Negro representatives.

Negroes have also been finding an increasing number of jobs as stenographers, typists, clerks, and bookkeepers in state and municipal offices in the North, the result largely of their increasing political significance. The largest single employer of Negro white-collar workers, as of Negroes in general, is the Federal government. This has long been true, while the increased participation in Federal employment was one of the main occupational advances that the Negro worker achieved during the Second World War. The history of Negro employment in the Federal government, according to the study by Davis and Golightly, has been briefly as follows.

Directly after the Civil War and for a decade or more under Republican administrations, Negroes were appointed to positions such as Register of the Treasury, Assistant Postmaster General, or Recorder of Deeds, to numerous minor positions in the consular and diplomatic services, and to the smaller clerical jobs later placed under civil service regulations, beginning with the first Civil Service Act in 1883. The appearance of the Civil Service Commission marked a steady increase in Negro employment, which continued under Democrat President Cleveland's first ad-

ministration. By 1912 about 20,000 Negroes held jobs in the Federal service. Although most of these were on the custodial level, Negroes still held positions as collectors of customs, collectors of ports, paymasters, postmasters, and diplomats.

A sharp decline in the status of Negro Federal employees occurred during the administration of Woodrow Wilson. Negroes were ousted from responsible positions, and segregation appeared in various government departments. The Navy Department set a precedent by placing Negroes behind screens where they could not be seen by white clerks and also ordered segregation in the use of lavatories. Other departments and bureaus established segregation and discrimination in employment, lavatories, and restaurants. Several devices were used to prevent certified Negro eligibles from getting desirable civil service jobs. One was the "rule of three" which gives the appointing officer discretion to select one of the three highest eligibles, thus permitting the arbitrary passing over of any Negro or other "undesirable" who stood highest on a list. Second was the requirement of designation of race or color on the application form. Finally, there was the practice, adopted in 1914, of requiring a photograph of the applicant. It soon came to pass that a Negro had practically no chance for appointment to a clerical position no matter how high a grade he obtained in the civil service examination.

The pattern set by the Wilson administration continued to exist under the Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover administrations. The number of Negroes in government service increased, rising to 53,000 in 1933, but the jobs were largely as custodians. A study made by Hayes in 1938, though it included part of the Roosevelt administration, by which time there were 82,000 Negro employees, indicated the pattern of Negro employment that had developed. He found that of the Negro Federal workers in the District of Columbia 90 per cent were custodial, 9.5 per cent clerical, and 0.5 per cent professional or subprofessional.

Under the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, with the expansion of government service resulting from the depression and the war, the picture completely changed. A number of Negroes were appointed to responsible positions as specialists in Negro affairs or race-relations advisers, constituting a sort of Black Cabinet, and efforts were made to see that Negroes received a fair share of employment. The Civil Service Commission in 1940

abolished the requirement of photographs on applications; and following the President's Executive Order 8802 forbidding discrimination, issued in 1941, the designation of race on applications was abolished, and the rule permitting a selection of one out of three eligible people was modified. Negro employment in Federal service improved quantitatively and qualitatively. Many of the government cafeterias were opened to Negro workers, separate rest-room accommodations were eliminated, and in offices Negroes and whites worked at adjoining desks.

By 1944 Negro government workers numbered 273,971 or 11.9 per cent of the total. In departmental service in the District of Columbia, only 39.6 per cent of all Negro employees were classified as custodial, while 59.3 per cent were clerical, and 1.1 per cent professional or subprofessional. This distribution should be contrasted with that reported by Hayes in 1938, which was mentioned above. The war agencies, especially the Army and the Navy, employed the largest number of Negroes. With the end of the war began a great reduction in the Federal service. About one-half of all Federal employees were not classified workers, that is, did not have civil service tenure but were appointed for the duration of the war plus six months thereafter, and thus were directly subject to cutbacks. Of the Negroes, 70 per cent were unclassified and, therefore, especially vulnerable. Only those with permanent civil service status, veterans' preference, or a high efficiency rating will succeed in being retained.

On July 26, 1948, President Truman issued an executive order decreeing a fair-employment practices policy throughout the civil branches of the government, in which "merit and fitness" are the only qualifications for a job or for promotion. In all personnel actions taken by Federal appointing officers "there shall be no discrimination because of race, color, religion, or national origin." To carry out this policy the President ordered the head of each department or agency to designate an official as Fair Employment Officer who shall be given full operating responsibility for carrying out the nondiscriminatory policy, and he created a Fair Employment Board from among the officers and employees of the Civil Service Commission with authority to review decisions, make rules and regulations, advise departments, disseminate information, and co-ordinate the fair-employment policies and procedures of the several programs.

SKILLED AND SEMISKILLED WORKERS

The fourth and fifth groups of Negro workers, the skilled and the semiskilled, may be considered together, since they include, especially in the case of males, mainly workers in manufacturing industries and building construction and raise the question of the Negro's relation to organized labor. Only a small percentage, 2.9, of the Negroes are listed as skilled workers and foremen. This is about the same percentage that obtained at the close of the Civil War. Negro artisans trained under slavery lost what pre-eminence they had held when they encountered the competition of whites in a free and modern industrial economy. Their greatest numerical importance at present is in those handicrafts which are waning, notably the building trades, and their smallest representation is in the fields of new industrial emphasis. With the entrance of the Negro into industry following his migration to the North during the First World War, a slight increase in the proportion of skilled workers occurred, rising from 2.2 per cent in 1910 to 3.1 in 1920 and 3.2 in 1930. It dropped back a little in 1940, reflecting displacement during the depression, but increased noticeably during the Second World War when the number of Negroes employed as skilled craftsmen and foremen is estimated to have doubled.

One of the greatest obstacles to the advancement of Negroes in the skilled trades has been the attitude of the labor unions. Although the attitude and practice of organized labor toward Negro workers has definitely become more favorable, often under the spur of legislative and judicial action, there is still much discrimination. For a long time Negroes were forced to operate almost exclusively outside of the organized labor movement. It was via strike breaking that the first Negroes got into the Northern branches of iron and steel, meat packing, and other heavy industries. In various sections of the country Negro workers who were barred from the white-dominated unions developed all-Negro unions in an effort to protect their interests. In 1945 seven such unions were known to exist. Two of them had entered the main stream of the American labor movement: the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, founded in 1925, which was granted a charter by the American Federation of Labor (AFL) in 1936, and the United Transport Service Employees of America (with a few white and Japanese-American members), founded in 1938,

which was admitted to the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in 1942.

A survey in 1944 revealed that the policies of organized labor toward Negroes varied from outright exclusion by some organizations to full acceptance by others. They also varied from region to region. Northrup (*Organized Labor and the Negro*, pp. 3-5) has classified the discriminating unions as follows:

1. Unions which exclude Negroes by provision in constitution or ritual. This group includes seven AFL affiliates (all, except the machinists and the wire weavers, in the field of transportation) and seven independent unions, all the latter being railroad brotherhoods. In 1944 the United States Supreme Court ruled, in a case involving the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, that Negro employees on American railroads are protected by the Railway Labor Act against management-labor pacts, such as had been made by Southern railroads seeking to drive them out of their jobs or deny them promotion. The decision did not affect union-membership policy, but it accorded equal treatment to Negro firemen.

2. Unions which habitually exclude Negroes by tacit consent. Included here are six AFL affiliates and two unaffiliated organizations. Among this group are the asbestos, the electrical, and the glass workers, the granite cutters, plumbers, seafarers, marine and railroad shopworkers.

3. Unions which afford Negroes only segregated auxiliary status. This group includes seven AFL affiliates and two independent organizations. Four are in the field of transportation, two are letter-carrier unions, and the others comprise the blacksmiths, boilermakers, and sheet-metal workers. The auxiliary type of union, whereby Negroes pay dues but may not vote, received a setback in 1945 when the Supreme Court of California ruled in a case involving the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders, and Helpers that the union must admit Negroes to full membership or give up its closed-shop agreement. Similar court action against this union was taken by Rhode Island. In 1947 the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks rescinded its discriminatory policy against Negroes, the move being made because fair employment practice legislation in several states made it impossible for the union to exist with such a provision.

It should be noted that all the discriminatory unions are either AFL affiliates or independent organizations. They are also mainly in fields in which Negroes have few jobs. Nearly all are or were

originally organizations of skilled craftsmen. Their color bar has resulted not only from race prejudice but from a desire to monopolize the available job opportunities. Northrup thinks the economic motive is the stronger. The AFL has adopted resolutions from time to time at its annual conventions condemning racial discrimination, but it has rejected all demands made by A. Philip Randolph, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, for disciplinary action against its affiliated unions which continue to draw the color line. The AFL has no clause in its constitution against racial discrimination, and its affiliated unions are therefore at liberty to adopt whatever provisions or policy they wish in regard to Negro membership.

By contrast, a provision in the constitution of the CIO—a type of union organization that includes all workers in a given industry irrespective of skill or craft—specifically forbids discrimination against a worker because of race, creed, color, or nationality. Unions affiliated with the CIO belong in the category of equalitarian unions—those that freely admit Negroes and strive to maintain equal treatment. A few AFL unions fall in this classification, such as those in the garment trades which are left-wing and the bricklayers' and plasterers' unions where Negroes are numerically strong enough to obtain equitable treatment. The CIO has established a National Committee to Abolish Discrimination and has engaged in an aggressive campaign to educate its whole membership; it has Negroes on its national committees and staff; and it has disciplined undemocratic affiliates. For example, the white workers who fomented the hate strike at the Wright plant in Lockland, Ohio, were dismissed and a white-supremacy group in Birmingham, Alabama, was forced to accept the upgrading of Negroes. The CIO United Automobile Workers and National Maritime Union have been leaders in fighting for Negro rights. With the acceptance of Negroes as economic equals there has developed fairly general acceptance of them as social equals in such semipublic situations as union dances, picnics, and similar social events to raise money and maintain *esprit de corps*. It is largely because of CIO activity that Negroes now believe, according to the *Negro Digest* poll, that labor unions are more sincere and honest in their treatment of Negroes than is industrial management. Embree (p. 9), reviewing developments in race relations for the period 1942 to 1944, held that "the Congress of Industrial

Organizations is the strongest force against discrimination that has arisen in these fervid years."

In addition to the discriminatory unions and the equalitarian unions there is a third category, following Northrup, of unions with laissez-faire racial policies. These organizations accept the racial employment pattern of an industry and make no attempt to alter it. Most of them are independent unions, frequently outgrowths of company unions, and are to be found chiefly in the tobacco, textile, clothing, laundry, longshore, and, to some extent, coal industries. A few states have experimented with legislation against racial discrimination in labor unions. Most significant is the New York law of 1940, which expressly forbids unions to deny any person membership by reason of race, color, or creed, and provides penalties for violation. It has been suggested that the most effective relief through a legislative approach would be for Congress to forbid closed-shop contracts with unions that deny membership to persons because of race or color.

The number of Negroes enrolled in labor unions showed a steady increase up to the Second World War when it expanded rapidly. In 1930 Reid estimated the total Negro union membership at 110,000. In 1935, according to the *Negro Year Book, 1947* (edited by Jessie Parkhurst Guzman, p. 146), it was approximately 180,000; in 1940, about 600,000; and in 1945, probably 1,250,000. Between 1940 and 1945 the total membership in labor unions increased from eight and one-half to fourteen million. The Negro membership was distributed as follows: CIO, 500,000; AFL, 650,000; and independent unions, 100,000.

With the important exceptions noted above, Negroes have had little reason over the years to trust the unions, which, by and large, have tried to keep them from the better jobs and to relegate them to such crude labor as they themselves did not want or could not supply. This is the attitude not only of organized labor but also of white workers in general. Negroes have been built into labor reserves, eking out an existence from the crumbs of employment while held in waiting for labor disturbances which would give them an opportunity, but one that frequently lasted only as long as the strike, or for periods of peak employment when sufficient white workers were not available.

In seeking a job or looking forward to advancement, the Negro is always handicapped by the racial factor. Industrially he is in

a vicious circle: he hesitates to prepare himself for more skilled and selected work for fear he will not get it, and he is excluded from such work because of lack of adequate preparation. Moreover, because of discrimination and poverty Negroes receive less training and education than do white youth in the same community. There appears to have been greater discrimination in the skilled trades in the North. At least before the Second World War the majority of Negro craftsmen were in the South.

In the South the labor movement has had to mark time because the white workers would not let the Negroes join with them, and on the other hand they could not neglect so large a mass of competitors. As a consequence of racial prejudice the black worker has not been disposed to regard himself primarily as a member of the working class, but latterly both he and the white worker have come to realize that their interests are closer to each other than to those of management, and the old division along racial lines is being gradually supplanted by division into economic interest groups. Since 1916 the Negro's relation to industry has been changing from that of a labor reserve to be drawn on in emergencies to a permanent part of the labor force. The Negro has attained a firm footing in most of the leading industries, and it is no longer so necessary for him to scab in order to get employment. The longer he stays in industry and the more closely he associates with other workers, the more strongly will he feel that his interests lie in co-operating with white workers.

This development, which finds its logical expression in the mixed union, represents a decided change in the attitude of Negro workers, for it is a deep-rooted Negro tradition to side with the most powerful whites (landlords and employers) against laboring whites who are their competitors. Such a program is also directly opposed to that of developing a black economy within the white economy of this country advocated by many of the Negro upper class since this is necessarily based on race solidarity. A black economy holds little for the black worker except the substitution of Negro employers for white employers. Even in the South Negro and white workers are beginning to recognize their mutual interests and to form joint unions. In the Birmingham area, even before the emergence of the CIO, the white and Negro coal miners and steelworkers, seeing themselves in a common economic condition, formed inter-racial unions affiliated with the

AFL. Now the CIO is gaining real footholds in several Southern communities. The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union and the Delta Cooperative Farm further demonstrate that white and Negro workers can be made to understand that they compete with each other for employment and consequently must work together in labor organizations and co-operatives lest their separate efforts be canceled by the traditional playing of race against race. As Charles S. Johnson has said, in his foreword to Cayton and Mitchell's study of *Black Workers and the New Unions*,

The relation of black and white workers in organizations designed for their mutual protection is in many respects more significant to the student than the relation of these black workers to their employers or to the processes of industry itself. For here, in the readjustment of social patterns and ideologies, we find reflected a profound transition in Negro life as well as in the economic outlook of American workers generally. What has been for generations a racial stratification in occupations is, under present-day conditions, in process of transformation. Class interests and class solidarity have measurably relaxed racial tensions and, by so doing, have mitigated the divisive effects of racial antagonism.

UNSKILLED WORKERS

Nearly two-thirds of the Negroes gainfully employed fall in the socio-economic grouping of unskilled workers. This includes 57 per cent of the males and 77 per cent of the females. The first group is employed, in order, as factory, building construction, and other nonagricultural laborers, farm laborers, and servants. Among the girls and women, the great majority are servants, with farm laborers the only other large group. Both servants and farm laborers are mainly concentrated in the South. The farm and other laborers suffer from irregular employment, low wages, and in some instances from an enforceable labor-contract system, whereby the laborer may not leave the job if he is in debt to the employer. In some sections Negroes arrested for vagrancy or other offenses are forced to work for white employers who pay their fine.

In industry both North and South, Negro laborers are largely marginal workers, securing employment only when the demand for labor is great. They are generally assigned the most tedious, disagreeable, and low-paid positions, experience difficulty in obtaining promotion, and face frequent displacement. Myrdal (p. 397) reports that

Negroes constitute a disproportionately large number of the workers in the nation who work under imperfect safety rules, in unclean and unhealthy shops, for long hours, and for sweatshop wages. . . . As low wages and substandard labor conditions are most prevalent in the South, this danger is mainly restricted to Negro labor in that region. When the jobs are made better, the employer becomes less eager to hire Negroes, and white workers become more eager to take the jobs from the Negroes.

Thus social legislation instituted in order to protect the lowest paid and most insecure workers is not an unmixed blessing for it often lessens the Negro's opportunity for employment. Mechanization also tends to displace Negro labor. It creates new "white man's jobs" out of old "Negro jobs." Negroes more than whites are in occupations especially vulnerable to technological change and have been eliminated to a greater extent from traditional types of work, such as in the building trades, mining, railroad industry, shipbuilding, tobacco manufacture, the lumber industry, the turpentine industry, and Southern agriculture. Likewise the organization of the labor market by trade unions has frequently increased the difficulties for Negroes to get and to hold jobs. Because of their marginal position, Negroes especially stand to gain from a situation of full employment.

Since emancipation, domestic service has sharply declined in the Negro's estimation, and the general character of workers in this field has changed. Under slavery the domestic and personal servants were the most select and favored group. Emancipation broke down the artificial system of selecting domestic servants and opened newer and more desired fields of employment. The more intelligent and enterprising went into the professions, the skilled trades, and business, leaving the more backward and unprogressive to serve as domestics. The places of those who left have been filled by field hands and laborers, especially in the cities. A change in the residence of the servant has also occurred, from the master's house or servant's quarters to a shanty in the colored community. The children of the servant now have no contact with the family of their mother's employer and receive little care from their mother. They are left with a female relative or entirely alone during the day while the mother is away at work.

Today Negroes in domestic and personal service are a varied group, ranging from the intelligent, trusted, and cultured, remi-

niscent of the older generation that looked upon domestic service as a responsible and meritorious position, to the illiterate and crude with a plantation background. The more competent and refined reflect the discipline and influence of their contacts with the cultured whites. Usually the cruder and less efficient workers are employed at a dollar or two a week by the poorer whites in the South. Not only is it hard to get good servants, but it is hard to keep them, for this type of Negro likes a short-time job and frequently quits without notice to take up other temporary employment, especially cotton picking.

A peculiar feature of Negro service is the custom known as "toting," the taking home by the servant of food from the employer's house. There appears to be a tacit understanding that the cook or other servants will take food home to their families. It is taken surreptitiously and without explicit consent of the mistress, who nevertheless usually knows about it and says nothing. The custom contributes to the belief that Negroes are inclined to petty thieving, yet it would be rare indeed for a servant to be discharged for taking food. Neither servant nor mistress regards it as actual stealing. From the latter's standpoint it fits into the traditional pattern which made the master responsible for feeding his dependents and which prescribed a certain indulgence for the "childlike, irresponsible" Negro. The servant, if she thinks about the custom at all, is more likely to regard it as a supplement to grossly inadequate wages. Many a highly respectable colored woman takes food home to her family with no sense of wrongdoing.

The system of domestic service in the South presents problems to both employer and worker. It is characterized, according to Johnson (*Into the Main Stream*, p. 89), by inefficient and irresponsible service on the one hand, and merciless hours, starvation wages, old clothes, "handouts," and "food-toting" on the other. Improvements leading to a high level of home economy and satisfactory working conditions would contribute much to the whole level of Southern living. The number and proportion of Negro women in domestic service has increased, as Negro women workers have withdrawn from agricultural pursuits, because they have generally been unable to find work other than as servants or cooks in private families. Wherever possible, however, they are leaving domestic service for jobs in factories and commercial

laundries or as waitresses, elevator operators, and other service workers. These jobs have regular hours, social security, and unemployment compensation.

Negro workers are at a special disadvantage with respect to the old-age and survivors' insurance program inaugurated under the Federal Social Security Act, primarily because of three major factors: employment excluded from coverage, mortality rates, and amounts of earnings in covered employment. Over 60 per cent of Negro workers are employed in agriculture and domestic service, which are excluded from coverage. Such exclusion also applies to the state unemployment compensation laws under the Social Security Act and to the entirely state-administered systems of workmen's compensation for industrial accidents. Moreover, Negroes earn less than the national average even when they are employed in occupations covered by the old-age and survivors' insurance program, and their meager earnings and resultant low standard of living are reflected in high mortality rates. Their shorter life span precludes qualifying for primary benefits at age 65. Thus the amount of their insurance benefit is limited.

TRENDS IN THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF NEGROES

Dr. Edwards of the Bureau of the Census has applied his six-fold socio-economic grouping of employed workers to the census data on occupations for 1910 and 1920 as well as for 1930 and 1940. The per cent distribution for Negro workers is given in the table on p. 134.

This table provides a comparable basis for ascertaining occupational trends. The major trend exhibited in this table is the shift from agriculture to industrial employment. There were nearly one and one-half million fewer Negroes engaged as farm owners, tenants, or laborers in 1940 as compared with 1910 and an increase of nearly 800,000 in the nonagricultural manual occupations. The increase in the servant classes involved primarily the women, whose main occupational trend, as we have already seen, has been away from farm labor to domestic and personal service. Wholesale and retail dealers and other proprietors, managers, and officials have little more than held their own. Professional persons and clerical and kindred workers have shown a steady increase. These recent shifts in Negro occupations indicate the potential ability of the colored masses to succeed in occupations other than

NEGRO EMPLOYED WORKERS IN THE UNITED STATES CLASSIFIED
INTO SOCIAL-ECONOMIC GROUPS, 1910 TO 1940

Group	Per cent distribution			
	1910	1920	1930	1940
Professional persons.....	1.2	1.6	2.1	2.6
Proprietors, managers, and officials.....	17.8	20.2	16.9	16.1
Farm owners and tenants.....	17.0	19.3	15.9	14.9
Wholesale and retail dealers.....	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6
Other proprietors, managers, and officials	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.6
Clerks and kindred workers.....	0.7	1.3	1.5	2.2
Skilled workers and foremen.....	2.2	3.1	3.2	2.9
Semiskilled workers.....	5.0	7.7	9.4	12.3
Unskilled workers.....	73.0	66.1	66.9	63.9
Farm laborers.....	37.6	24.8	20.2	17.8
Laborers, except farm.....	15.9	21.7	21.6	15.3
Servant classes.....	19.5	19.6	25.1	30.8
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Adapted from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *A Social-economic Grouping of the Gainful Workers of the United States, 1930*, p. 13; and *Comparative Occupation Statistics, 1870-1940*, p. 189. (Both volumes by A. M. Edwards.)

those assigned to them by tradition. The increasing urbanization of the Negro and the wartime labor demand have been important factors in this development. In general the Negro, in this respect as in so many others, is following the same cultural patterns as the whites but always with a time lag. Although the proportions engaged in agriculture and domestic and personal service and unskilled employment in general are still much higher than in the white population, the occupational status of the Negro is steadily approaching the white norm.

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CHAPTER 6

THE EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO

Formal education of Negroes in the United States began in the main in 1865. As measured from this starting point the Negroes have made tremendous educational advance. Viscount Bryce is reported to have said in 1895 that the American Negro in the first thirty years of his liberation made greater advance than was ever made by the Anglo-Saxon in a similar period. Lyman Abbott stated in 1905: "Never in the history of man has a race made such educational and material progress in forty years as the American Negro." In 1930 Ray Lyman Wilbur, Secretary of the Interior, stated in a radio address: "There is no more amazing picture in the history of education than that presented by the American citizen of the Negro race. His advance forward with our civilization has been phenomenal." Today, eighty-some years after emancipation, we can note the same steady progress. To be sure, the Negro has been aided in his educational advance by the whites, and he has been in the midst of the white man's civilization so that the process has been largely one of acculturation, but the record shows both a desire and a capacity on the Negro's part.

DECLINE OF NEGRO ILLITERACY

One measurement of the Negro's advancing educational status is provided by the statistics on literacy. At the close of the Civil War the Negroes were almost entirely illiterate. A few slaves could read and write, and about half of the free Negroes were literate, but the total number was probably not more than 5 per cent of the entire Negro population. Statistics of illiteracy were first obtained for the entire population ten years old and over in 1870. Illiteracy has been defined by the Bureau of the Census as the inability to write. The percentage of Negro illiterates has steadily declined from 81.4 in 1870 to 70.0 in 1880, 57.1 in 1890, 44.5 in 1900, 30.4 in 1910, 22.9 in 1920, and 16.3 in 1930. The 1940 Census did not report on illiteracy. According to a sample

survey made by the Bureau of the Census in 1947, the illiteracy rate for nonwhites (mostly Negroes) 14 years old and over was 11.0 per cent. (The comparable rate for whites was 1.8 per cent.) These figures reveal the achievement of general literacy in a period of four or five decades, a fact of immense social importance not only for the Negro race but for the whole community as well.

The reduction of illiteracy has been greater among some classes and in some sections of the country than in others. In 1930 only 9.2 per cent of Negroes living in cities were illiterate, as compared with 23.2 per cent of the rural-farm and 20.5 per cent of the rural-nonfarm Negroes. The rate was only 4.7 per cent in the North and 3.3 per cent in the West as compared with 19.7 per cent in the South, where a separate school system obtains. The percentage of illiteracy is progressively greater among the older age groups. For example, in 1930 only 5.3 per cent of Negroes 10 to 14 years of age were illiterate, as compared with 16.8 per cent of those 35 to 44 years and 55.7 per cent of those 65 years and over. This situation reflects the much greater educational opportunities accessible to Negroes today as compared with past periods. The illiteracy of Negro males of voting age has declined from 88 per cent in 1870 to 20 per cent in 1930, a factor which must be taken into consideration in the question of the Negro's political participation.

Another way of measuring the Negro educational advance is provided by the U.S. Census statistics on school attendance. Between 1900 and 1940 the percentage of Negroes 5 to 20 years of age attending school rose from 31.0 to 64.4. Since 1940 the proportion has increased, according to a sample survey in April, 1947, being especially marked in the case of Negroes of high school and college age. The 1940 Census reported on the educational attainment, as measured by the year of school completed, of persons 25 years old and over. This was to replace the less comprehensive statistics on illiteracy compiled in previous censuses. The figures for the Negroes, given in the accompanying table, show on the one hand the progress which this group has made and on the other hand, as compared with the whites, their low educational status and the distance they still have to travel. The median number of school years completed was 5.7 for Negroes and 8.8 for native whites. In the case of both groups the medians were lower among the rural population and higher

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER,
BY YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED AND RACE, FOR THE UNITED
STATES, 1940

Years of school completed	All classes	Negro	Native white
Persons 25 years old and over..	100.0	100.0	100.0
No school years completed....	3.7	10.0	1.3
Grade school:			
1-4 years.....	9.8	31.3	6.1
5-6 years.....	11.4	21.5	9.7
7-8 years.....	34.6	19.8	36.0
High school:			
1-3 years.....	15.0	8.5	17.3
4 years.....	14.1	4.1	16.6
College:			
1-3 years.....	5.4	1.8	6.6
4 years or more.....	4.6	1.2	5.4
Not reported.....	1.4	1.8	1.1

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Population*, Vol. II, *Characteristics of the Population*, Part I, *United States Summary*, p. 41.

among the urban. If we take as a standard the educational status of native white adults 25 years of age and over, then in 1940 the Negroes of the same age group had attained 55 per cent of this standard so far as completion of elementary school is concerned, nearly 25 per cent as to the completion of four years of high school, and 22 per cent as to the completion of a four-year college course. Since emancipation the Negroes have progressively narrowed the wide gap in education existing between them and the whites. They now lag about a generation behind.

NEGRO EDUCATION BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR AND DURING RECONSTRUCTION

In the pre-Civil-War period Negro education was largely confined to the North, where they shared to some extent in the public school system and where a few private schools for them had been established. In general, sentiment was against their education, and the few attempts to do something for them met with more or

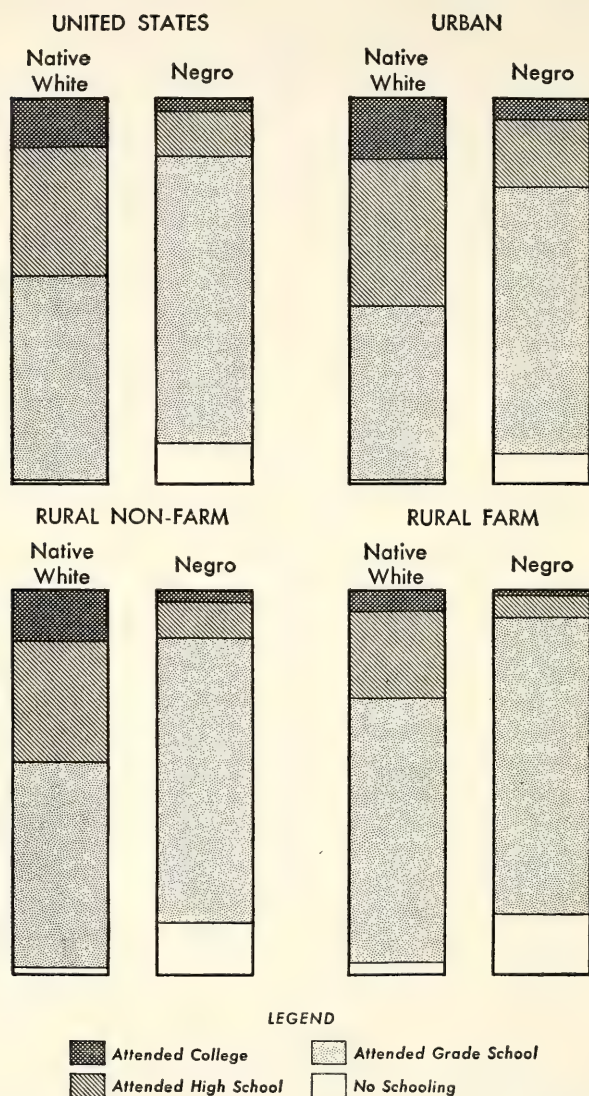


FIG. 5. School attended by persons 25 years old and over, by race, for the United States, urban and rural, 1940.

less difficulty. In 1832, for example, Prudence Crandall, a young Quaker schoolteacher, aroused much opposition when she ventured to open a school for colored children in Canterbury, Connecticut, and the state passed a law in 1833 prohibiting the establishment of schools for colored persons not inhabitants of the state; this act was repealed in 1838. In 1835 the building of Noyes Academy at Canaan, New Hampshire, which had opened its doors to colored students, was removed from the town by a committee of 300 citizens and 100 yoke of oxen. During this period a few Negroes attended Northern colleges, and two colleges for Negroes were founded—Lincoln University in Chester County, Pennsylvania, in 1854 and Wilberforce University in Greene County, Ohio, in 1856. Although there were but few laws in the Northern states specifically providing for the education of Negroes, there were, on the other hand, no laws against educating them. In the South, by contrast, the Black Codes in many states prohibited the teaching of Negroes both slave and free. There were sporadic cases, however, where individual slaveholders permitted the teaching of slaves, particularly the servant class, and about half of the free Negroes, as we have mentioned, were literate. When emancipation became an accomplished fact, the freedmen evinced a general desire to obtain an education, perhaps, as Booker T. Washington once remarked, because of a natural curiosity to discover what, in the books, was so dangerous as to be forbidden during slavery; perhaps because the more ambitious were stirred to disprove the frequently expressed opinion that Negroes were incapable of education. At any rate, there sprang up a "craze for Greek and Latin" as the Negroes sought to test their ability to learn as difficult subject matter as white persons learned and to reap the advantages of education.

The establishment of Negro schools in the South began during the Civil War in sections occupied by the Union forces. In September of 1861, a bare six months after the beginning of hostilities, the first day school for Negroes under the new dispensation was opened at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, for the refugees from neighboring plantations whom General Butler had called "contraband of war." The school was promoted by the American Missionary Association, and the first teacher was Mary S. Peake, a "free woman of color," who had been educated in England. In this school the first experiment in industrial education for Negroes

was made. This school laid the foundation of Hampton Institute and was the beginning of the general education of the Negro in the South. In 1862 schools were established by the American Missionary Association and other agencies at Portsmouth, Norfolk, and Newport News, Virginia; New Bern and Roanoke Island, North Carolina; and Port Royal, South Carolina. After the Emancipation Proclamation, Jan. 1, 1863, Negro schools were established in all parts of the South occupied by the Federal armies.

During Reconstruction the education of the Negroes was greatly furthered by the Freedmen's Bureau. During the period it was in existence, 1865 to 1870, it established 4,239 schools, employed 9,307 teachers, and instructed 247,333 pupils. Higher education for the Negro was also begun under the auspices of the bureau, which assisted in establishing some thirteen institutions, the most notable examples being Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, in 1866; Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia, in 1867; and Howard University, Washington, D.C., in 1867. A number of Northern private and religious organizations aided in the education of the freedmen, many of them co-operating with the Freedmen's Bureau, and the Negroes themselves, especially through their churches, raised funds and established schools. In many instances there was opposition among the white people of the South to the education of the freedmen, but in no case did this opposition become widely organized. Moreover, the Reconstruction legislatures instituted systems of public education for all children for the first time in the history of the South, and in every instance the system of public education was continued when these governments passed into the hands of the former masters. Common schools for Negroes thus became a part of the educational policy of the South.

THE SEGREGATED SCHOOL SYSTEM

The South, however, has uniformly segregated the Negroes in the public school system. The laws of 17 Southern states and the District of Columbia require that pupils of the white and Negro races must not attend the same school. Four states—Florida, Kentucky, Oklahoma, and Tennessee—extend this legal segregation to private schools and colleges as well. Under the Kentucky act Berea College, which for years had enrolled both white and black

students, was forced to give up its "co-education." Florida makes it a criminal offense for teachers of one race to instruct pupils of the other in the public schools, while in Kentucky, Tennessee, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia the law requires that teachers and pupils must belong to the same race. The Mississippi law has been interpreted to bar Chinese pupils from white schools. Disputes have arisen in some states in the case of children of mixed ancestry over the interpretation of the law as to what constitutes being a member of the Negro race.

The South also applies the principle of segregation to libraries, where, indeed, it makes any provision at all for library facilities for Negroes. Prior to 1900 no service seems to have been offered. A study conducted in 1939 by Mrs. Gleason reported the existence of 744 public libraries in 13 Southern states. Only 99 of these libraries served Negroes. In the main, this service was made available either by restricted privileges at the main library (the most liberal provision, found only in certain communities in Virginia, Kentucky, Texas, and Oklahoma) or by the establishment of a separate branch or station to serve Negro patrons. Only 21 per cent of the total Negro population in the area studied was provided with public-library service in contrast to 42 per cent of the white population. Provisions were mainly limited to the cities; only 5 per cent of Southern rural Negroes were receiving any public-library service. Appropriations for Negro library service were low, and gross inequalities existed between the service provided for the white group and that provided for the Negro group. In addition to the above provisions there were 10 independent Negro public libraries built through Carnegie benefactions. There were also 9 Carnegie libraries connected with Negro colleges. The Julius Rosenwald Fund has also helped in building up school and college libraries in Negro institutions. The general lack of school, college, and public-library facilities for Negroes is the more acute in view of the scarcity of reading materials in their homes.

The policy of racial segregation in the public schools is not confined to the South for a number of jurisdictions in other sections of the country have adopted a somewhat similar scheme largely as a result of Negro migration. In Arizona segregation is mandatory in the primary schools, permissive in the high schools; in Kansas, New Mexico, and Wyoming the school authorities

are granted permission to establish separate schools for Negroes if they believe such separation to be necessary or proper. In some cities of the North the concentration of the Negro population and school districting produce the effect of separate schools. Moreover, it is not unusual for colored children to be transferred to a school which is predominantly Negro even though another school may be nearer to their homes. Likewise, white children living in or near a neighborhood largely colored are frequently sent to more distant schools so as to avoid mingling the races. Even in cities where schools are mixed, there is sometimes segregation in the form of seating arrangements, separate classes, or separate rooms.

On the other hand, 14 Northern states (including New Jersey, which was added to this group in 1948, and Indiana in 1949), either by statute or by constitution, provide that there shall be no racial segregation in the public schools. In all these states segregation of the Negroes in separate rooms or buildings is not permitted; this is also the rule even in a number of the remaining 13 states where there are no statutes on the subject of segregation. The courts have variously decided what constitutes discrimination or segregation. According to Mangum (pp. 113-114),

An attempt in a Colorado school to segregate the Negro pupils as far as swimming facilities and scholastic social functions were concerned was held discriminatory and unauthorized, and the same was held in New Jersey with respect to an attempt to prohibit a Negro pupil from taking singing lessons except with those of his own race. As a contrast to these decisions, however, the Ohio court has ruled that a colored girl student at the State University can be denied the privilege of rooming, dining, and sharing common toilet and bathroom facilities with white students, these being purely social privileges.

Segregation under one form or another has been spreading in the North as the Negro population has increased, especially in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. There have been a few instances, notably at Gary, Indiana, Dayton, Ohio, and Los Angeles, California, where white students have engaged in mass demonstrations or school strikes against the enrollment of Negro pupils. (Although the educational facilities in the North where there is separation may be equal—in the South they are grossly unequal—there is no denying the fact that to segregate

is to stigmatize. The initiative is practically always taken by the whites. The separate school is a symbol of the inferior social, economic, and political status of colored people in American life in general.

With conditions as they are in the South, segregation is a necessity. It is doubtful whether it would be possible, without the use of force, to keep Negro and white children in school together. There is no desire on the part of either race for a mixed school system. The difficulty in the present arrangement is that education, though separate, is unequal. In part this arises from the fact that the South, which is poor compared with the rest of the country and has less effective systems of taxation, is trying to maintain a double system of schools. In wealth per capita the Southern states rank at the bottom of the list. Although there are regional variations from the wealthier Piedmont region to the poorer Highlands and Piney Woods sections, the South as a whole falls about one-third short of the national norm. As a result, the tax revenues are too meager to support even a single efficient school system. Moreover, because of its higher birth rate, the South has a proportionately larger number of children to educate than has any other section. Whereas the average annual expenditure per pupil enrolled in school in 1937-1938 was approximately \$100 in the United States as a whole, in the 17 Southern states and the District of Columbia, where separate schools for whites and Negroes are maintained, it was \$60. For Negro children in the South the per capita expenditure was only about \$20. The latest figures available—for the school year 1943-1944—include data from only 11 of the Southern states; they show an average expenditure for each white child of \$84.79 and for each Negro child of \$36.97. The national average was \$116.99. The discrepancy in the public school expenditures for white and Negro pupils is least in the border states and greatest in the deep South. It is most pronounced in Mississippi, where the expenditure per white pupil is five times that per Negro pupil. In general those states and those counties with the highest proportion of Negro inhabitants spend proportionately least for Negro education. It may also be laid down as a rule that the difference between the white and Negro schools is smallest where the white schools are best and greatest where the white schools are poorest. In expenditures for buildings, school equipment, transportation, vocational

education, and libraries, the discrimination is even more marked.

It is frequently stated in justification of the unequal expenditures that the Negroes do not pay as much in taxes as do the whites and hence should not share equally in the school funds. It is also pointed out that the South, despite investing in public education an even larger percentage of her taxes and her total wealth than other parts of the country, still has insufficient funds to provide an education for white children equal to the national average and that this need must be met before the education of Negroes can be improved. Such a position is contrary to the principle of public education in the United States, which holds that common education is necessary in a democracy and that equal opportunities are to be provided irrespective of race or creed or the ability to pay. According to this basic American principle, free and compulsory education is essential to the safety and preservation of the nation. The South is not ready to apply this theory equally or fully to the Negroes.

The issue has been openly raised, for example, in Mississippi, which allots \$1 for the education of the Negro child to \$5 for the education of the white child. In 1929 a bill was introduced in the Mississippi legislature requiring that the Constitution of the United States be taught in the public schools. The bill, sponsored by the American Legion, was about to pass when one of the rural legislators arose to warn that the bill would mean the teaching in Negro public schools of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments. The bill was immediately tabled. Again, in 1940 the legislature accepted the proposal of its Senate Education Committee that separate civics texts be provided for Negro schools, from which all reference to voting, elections, civic responsibilities, and democracy would be eliminated. The lawmaking body also voted to keep the textbooks for Negroes in separate warehouses. (Incidentally, this is required in Florida.) A leading advocate of the measure argued:

Under the Constitution the Negro is a citizen, and, of course, we know and accept that. But he can never expect to be given the same educational and social privileges with the white man, and he doesn't expect them. The best education we can give him is to use his hands because that's how he must earn his living. It always has and it always will be. (*The Survey*, May, 1940, p. 175.)

This Jim Crow textbook law invited universal ridicule, and protests poured in from individuals and organizations in the South as well as in the North, and a week later the measure was repealed.

Although the Negroes in the South have a tremendous faith in education, regarding it as the indispensable foundation of democracy, the gateway to equal opportunity, and the threshold of a new and better life, the whites are less agreed upon the desirability of education for Negroes. Their arguments for and against it are reminiscent of former discussions about whether the slaves should or should not be given Christianity. Some whites consider it wrong to deny education to the Negroes but at the same time fear the economic and social consequences of educating them. The opinion is widely held that the Negroes should not be given educational opportunities comparable to those provided for white children. In part this is based on the belief, a heritage from slavery, that better facilities in the colored schools would not yield a proper return in human values. It is also feared that education will take the Negro out of his place and that the educated Negro will lose the humility which has characterized the relations of Negroes to the Southern whites. The white laboring man is influenced in his opposition to better educational facilities for Negroes by the fear that they will enter skilled trades and compete with the whites. On the other hand, certain farsighted leaders and apostles of education hold that better schools will make the Negro a better worker and citizen and will react to the advantage of the whites as well as the Negroes.

In general, the attitude of the South that the Negroes should be segregated, kept in their place, and shunted into manual occupations has found expression in a general but inferior provision for elementary education, a greatly restricted opportunity for secondary school education, some support for industrial and teacher training, and practically complete absence of public provision for college and professional training.

PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS FOR NEGROES IN THE SOUTH

As a result of lack of funds and of discrimination, elementary school education for Negroes in the South is the lowest in the nation. Wilkerson (p. 151) has summarized the situation as follows:

In general, and especially in rural areas, Negro elementary pupils attend extremely impoverished, small, short-term schools, lacking in transportation service, void of practically every kind of instructional equipment, and staffed by relatively unprepared, overloaded teachers whose compensation does not approximate a subsistence wage.

Approximately four-fifths of all Negro children in the United States must depend on such segregated schools for their public education.

The Negro schoolhouses in the South, especially in rural areas, are generally inadequate and quite inferior to those for the whites. The value of school-plant equipment in 1940 in 11 of the Southern states for which data are available averaged \$162 for every white pupil and \$34 for each Negro pupil. The discrepancy is less in the cities than in the rural areas where most of the colored pupils reside. Rural Negro schoolhouses are "miserable beyond all description." They are usually without comfort, equipment, proper lighting, and sanitation. Most are of the one- or two-teacher type. Here are found the poorest trained and lowest salaried teachers, the shortest terms, the poorest attendance, the crudest buildings, and the most meager equipment and teaching materials. These schools are far removed from those they are intended to serve, yet less than 1 per cent of the pupils attending these one- and two-teacher schools are transported at public expense. (In 1943-1944 about 8 per cent of all Negro pupils in the South received such transportation.) The Florida Educational Survey Commission mentioned inaccessibility of schools as the most important reason why 50,000 of their 133,000 Negro children were not in school. Even if adequate transportation facilities were provided, the number of schools would not begin to accommodate those who should attend. It has been conservatively estimated that more than 9,000 additional rooms would be needed to house only a considerable number of the nonattending Negro pupils in the South. This number would be doubled if replacement of the crude makeshift cabins and shacks housing so many rural schools were contemplated. As Charles S. Johnson remarks in *Growing Up in the Black Belt* (p. 109): "The general poverty of the population, the demands of the farming system, the poor health of many of the children, and the long distances between homes and the school all contribute to the difficulties of rural education."

The average school term provided for colored children in the South is appreciably less than that provided for white children. The low average for the colored children is further reduced by their greater irregular attendance. The South has lagged behind the other sections of the country in providing for compulsory attendance, all other states having enacted such laws by 1902, while most of the Southern states have passed such measures since that date. Much less attempt is made in the South to enforce the law in the case of colored children. In 1940 there were nearly 400,000 Negro children five to seventeen years of age who were not in school, and of those who were enrolled the attendance was irregular. The average length of the school term in Negro schools was 164 days in 1943-1944 as compared with 173.5 days in white schools; and the average number of days attended was 133.4 for Negroes and 145 for whites. The averages conceal the fact that in half of the states school terms are about as long for Negro as for white children. The much shorter terms for Negro than for white children are to be found in Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. Since both schools have the same grade system, the shorter term of the Negro schools means that the children, though under inferior teachers, with less facilities, and from an inadequate educational background, must be rushed through their work at an excessive pace. Consequently, the Negro child of a given grade does not possess the scholastic attainment normally attributed to that grade and is likely to be regarded as backward if not, indeed, lacking in educability. Booker T. Washington once remarked that the Negro child is smart, but white folks expect too much of him if they think he can learn as much in a few months as their children can in the full school year.

The Negro school child presents no special educational needs other than those that would apply in adapting the curriculum to the social, economic, and cultural background of pupils in general. Only one culture is involved in the case of Negro children. There is a problem, however, arising from the fact that although the Negro is educated in terms of white culture, he is allowed only limited participation in it with the implication of inferior social status. One result is a lack of knowledge about their own people and their history and a lack of racial pride. At worst, the Negro is taught to imitate the whites and despise his own race. Nearly all the educational material used speaks in terms of white people;

in the textbooks there are practically no references to any race but the Caucasian; the histories are of white peoples; practically all the pictures Negro children see are white; the literature they read is by white authors and deals with characters that are white. There is, however, a growing movement to include, especially in the secondary schools, textbooks dealing with the leading facts of Negro life and history. Examples of such texts are Arna Bon-temps' *Story of the Negro*, Benjamin Brawley's *A Short History of the American Negro*, Arthur Schomburg's *Negro History in Outline*, Jane D. Shakelford's *The Child's Story of the Negro*, and Carter G. Woodson's *The Negro in Our History*. In the rural schools, particularly, the experience of the child is unrelated to the materials presented in the standardized curriculum. As Charles S. Johnson states in an article on "The Education of the Negro Child":

In one of the health lessons being recited recently by a group of Negro children in a rural school there was the question: "Why must we always comb our hair?" The correct answer, which they sang back in monotone, was, "Because if we do not comb our hair, it will get stringy and fall down over our eyes." A test of the efficacy of certain rote instruction about toothbrushes was made in a group of rural schools in Tennessee. The children sang each morning, "I brush my teeth three times a day, swish, swish, swish." Inquiry revealed that two-thirds of them actually had no toothbrushes. . . . Just as one result of the kind of rural education received is to make urban life more interesting, the practice in Negro education, when it is at all effective, has most often tended to make the child dissatisfied with his race as well as with rural life. There is developed an extraordinary sensitiveness, an obligation to apology for his background, and a blacking-out of history, for example, so complete as to involve his whole thinking about the past. He is left virtually without orientation in time.

The Negro teachers in the grade schools in the South are generally inadequately trained. Yet they have a heavier teaching load, which in 1943-1944 was an average of 34 pupils per teacher as compared with 28 for whites. Many of the Negro teachers have had no more than an elementary school education themselves. In 1931 Horace Mann Bond gave the Stanford Achievement Test to 306 Negro teachers enrolled in summer school who had been teaching during 1930-1931 in the public schools of six Alabama

counties. He reported that these teachers made an average score below the national norm set for ninth-grade school children. The recent development of county training schools has helped to improve the situation. There are also a few state and city normal schools and colleges providing teacher training. In 1940 an average, between the states, of 29 per cent of the Negro public school-teachers had completed four or more years of college; the average for white teachers was 53 per cent.

The salaries paid Negro teachers are very inadequate and appreciably below what the white schoolteachers receive. In 1935-1936, for example, in the 17 states and the District of Columbia having the separate school system, the average annual salary of white teachers was \$833 and that of Negro teachers \$510. In 1943-1944, in 11 of the Southern states for which data were available, the average annual salary of white public schoolteachers was \$1,354, of Negro teachers, \$892. At that time the average for the United States was \$1,728. The greatest discrepancy existed in Mississippi, which paid its white teachers \$1,107 and its Negro teachers \$342. In 1939 the United States District Court of Maryland ruled that Negro teachers must be paid the same salaries as white teachers doing the same work and enjoined the board of education "from discrimination in salaries on account of race or color." Similar decisions have been rendered in a few other states, and the campaign to equalize salaries is spreading.

In view of the special problems of the Negro schools and the inadequate training of the Negro teachers, supervision is particularly important. Since the state and county supervisors tend to neglect the colored schools, most of the improvement in supervision has come through the assistance and cooperation of private educational funds.

Although Negro public schools in the South are still below standard, conditions are definitely improving as a result of both public and private efforts. The average length of the school term is gradually approaching that for white children. Discrimination in teachers' salaries is lessening. Appropriations from public funds have increased, more and better schools have been built, and the teachers have become better trained. The lack of adequate finance, however, still remains at the root of the problem. For example, in order for Mississippi to approximate national standards, it would have to devote its entire tax income to education. The proposed

national equalization plan whereby, through the agency of the Federal government, the educational burden in the poorer states would be shared by the richer sections, offers a possible solution. However, as a condition for receiving such Federal funds, the Southern states should be required to correct the present glaring racial inequalities in the use of school funds.

The provision for public high schools for Negroes in the South has been slow in developing and is still greatly inadequate as compared with the high schools for whites. A survey by the U.S. Bureau of Education in 1916 disclosed only 64 public high schools for Negroes in the entire South. A careful accounting in 1920 showed not more than 100 real public high schools for Negroes in the towns and cities of 16 Southern states and none in rural districts. Since then the number has more rapidly increased, helped in part by Federal funds under special acts, and these public schools are gradually replacing the privately supported schools. In 1933-1934 the U.S. Office of Education reported 1,077 junior and senior public high schools for Negroes in the 17 states and the District of Columbia having a segregated school system, and in 1943-1944 a total of 2,689, enrolling 247,374 pupils. The percentage of Negro pupils enrolled in high school is about half that of whites. In 1931 there were but 20 high schools for Negroes approved by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, in 1940 the number had increased to 94, and in 1946 to 122. The same problem of inaccessibility that characterized the elementary school situation holds for the secondary schools. Transportation for Negro high school pupils is rarely provided. In general, Negro youth has about one-third the opportunity for secondary education enjoyed by other children in the nation. This is due in large part to the lack of Negro high schools in rural areas.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Much of the educational work for Negroes in the South on the secondary school level and practically all of the public provision on the college level is devoted to vocational training. The Southern whites can see the value and safety of vocational work for Negroes and are, therefore, more willing to support it than the academic schoolwork. In the larger schools especially, vocational courses have an important place in the curriculum. Farming, carpentering, and other manual trades are taught to the boys; cook-

ing and sewing to the girls. Often the vocational teachers extend their work to the community, teaching the men improved methods of farming and giving the women lessons in canning, cooking, and the theory of diet.

There are 17 land-grant agricultural and mechanical colleges for Negroes in the South which receive some of their support from Federal funds. The enrollment in 1945-1946, according to the *Negro Year Book* (pp. 85-89), was 13,477, including 1,377 who were taking work of high school grade. These publicly supported institutions are far inferior to their sister institutions for whites though they have improved in recent years. Ten of them are fully accredited by the regional accrediting agency but none by the Association of American Universities. Most of the inequalities which have been noted with respect to the public schools for whites and Negroes are also present in the Negro normal and technical schools. There is hardly one among them that could compare with any good white college in the same area. Equipment in these schools is poorer than that in white universities and technical schools of college grade supported by the state, and there is little if any opportunity for doing graduate work. These state-supported schools, however, have assumed an increasing portion of the task of supplying higher educational advantages for Negroes. Their predominant emphasis is now on teacher education.

These land-grant schools, as well as similar institutions for whites, came into existence under Federal legislation known as the first and second Morrill Acts and are now supported partly by funds derived from the sale of public lands and partly by state appropriations. The first Morrill Act, adopted in 1862, made no provision for a fair division of the funds obtained under the statute between the white and Negro institutions in states having the dual system. The result of this omission was that most of the money was expended for the white colleges although an attempt was made in at least four states (Kentucky, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Virginia) to give the Negro a square deal in the division of the fund. Because of the failure of most of the states to be fair to the Negroes in this respect, the second Morrill Act, enacted in 1890, provided that no state with the dual system could come under the terms of the statute unless it agreed to a just and equitable division of the fund between the technical schools for

each race. All these states had accepted this condition within a few years. Only part of the school funds, however, are Federal, and discrimination still exists in regard to state appropriations.

There are a number of privately supported vocational schools for Negroes on the secondary and collegiate level, chief of which are Hampton Institute in Virginia, founded by General Samuel C. Armstrong in 1868, and Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, founded by Booker T. Washington in 1881. Each enrolls a thousand or more students, has excellent equipment, and provides first-class training in agriculture, mechanical trades, domestic arts, and teaching as well as in academic subjects.

The greatest champion of vocational education for Negroes was Booker T. Washington, who was born in slavery at Hales Ford, Virginia, in 1856, educated at Hampton Institute, became the founder and first principal of Tuskegee Institute and the most influential Negro of his time. He died in 1915. More public recognition and honors have been bestowed on him than on any other Negro in the United States. These include the issue of a postage stamp in his honor, the minting of a coin (a half-dollar to be sold for one dollar to help establish the Booker T. Washington Birthplace Memorial, for which the Virginia General Assembly also voted an appropriation of \$15,000 in 1946), the naming of a Liberty ship for him in the Second World War, and his election to the Hall of Fame for great Americans. His educational philosophy was designed primarily to meet the needs of the masses of Negroes. Its goal was to bring about economic and social adjustment through vocational competence. He emphasized the dignity of labor, the moral, spiritual, and vocational value of manual work, and the need of preparing young people not merely to do a specific job well but to develop in them a spirit of leadership and resourcefulness. In his memorable Atlanta Exposition address of 1895 he said: "Ignorant and inexperienced, it is not strange that in the first years of our new life we began at the top instead of at the bottom; that a seat in Congress or the state legislature was more sought than real estate or industrial skill; that the political convention or stump speaking had more attraction than starting a dairy farm or truck garden." He admonished the Negro: "'Cast down your bucket where you are'—cast it down in making friends, in every manly way, of the people of all races by whom we are surrounded. Cast it down in agriculture, mechanics, in commerce,

in domestic service, and in the professions." (*Selected Speeches of Booker T. Washington*, edited by E. Davidson Washington, pp. 31-32.) He preached the gospel of patience, thrift, and industrial training, of land buying, home owning, and race pride, and advised the Negroes against the agitation of questions of social equality and civil and political rights. His program as to race relations was one of compromise or submission, but it was a necessary adjustment to conditions in the South. He felt that full privileges would be granted to the Negroes when they had become prepared for the exercise of those privileges. "The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is worth infinitely more than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera house."

Washington's emphasis on vocational education and his submissive policy regarding race relations met with increasing opposition among educated Negroes in the North. This opposition became vocal in 1901 when two Negroes, Monroe Trotter, Harvard, 1895, and George Forbes, Amherst, 1895, began the publication of the Boston *Guardian* as a journal of protest against Washington's doctrines. They declared that his teachings were destructive of the guaranteed rights and privileges of the Negro race, especially in the Northern states. The leading spokesman of the opposition group soon came to be W. E. Burghardt DuBois, born in 1868 at Great Barrington, Massachusetts, a graduate of Harvard in 1890, and the holder of a Ph.D. degree from the same institution in 1895. Among the many honors he has received was his election in 1943 to membership in the National Institute of Arts and Letters.

DuBois held that common schools and trade schools were not enough: "The foundations of knowledge in this race, as in others, must be sunk deep in the college and university if we would build a solid, permanent structure." He believed in the higher education of a "Talented Tenth," who through their knowledge of modern culture could guide the American Negro into a higher civilization. He deprecated Washington's general attitude, which seemed to place the onus of blame for the status of Negroes upon the Negroes themselves rather than upon the whites, and he favored open agitation for their political and civil rights. He also resented what he called "the Tuskegee Machine," the tremendous influence wielded by Tuskegee, which became the virtual capital of the Negro nation. At the call of DuBois, a number of men met at

Niagara Falls in 1905 and launched the so-called Niagara Movement, which protested against discrimination and advocated full political and civil rights and equal opportunity for higher education. Practically the whole membership of this movement was later absorbed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which was organized in 1909. DuBois became an executive of the association and the editor of its journal, *The Crisis*.

Both vocational and higher education for Negroes are necessary. Negro teachers, preachers, doctors, and other professionals as well as leaders generally need just as much education as their white counterparts. Higher education, however, has had to come later. Even secondary education for Negroes in the South was slow in developing. For a long time most of the schooling above elementary grade was provided for by religious and philanthropic organizations, which, since 1865, have contributed over a hundred million dollars for the education of the Negro in the South. It is estimated that through the churches and other means the Negroes themselves are each year raising about \$3,500,000 for the support of their schools. The *Negro Year Book*, 1947, lists 61 private high schools and academies for Negroes in the South with a total enrollment of nearly 20,000. Some of these are normal or industrial schools, others are academic high schools, and most are denominational. Ten years earlier there were 76 such institutions.

Special educational funds have long played a significant role in Negro education. The more important of these funds and their activities are as follows:

John F. Slater Fund. Established in 1882 by the gift of a million dollars by Mr. Slater of Norwich, Connecticut, for the purpose of "uplifting the lately emancipated population of the Southern states and their posterity." For this munificent gift Congress gave him a vote of thanks and a medal. The fund was later increased to about two million dollars. The income of the fund has been devoted to aiding both public and private schools maintaining normal and industrial departments. Latterly, it has been aiding especially county training schools and colored colleges.

Daniel Hand Fund. Established in 1888 through the gift of a million dollars by Mr. Hand of Guilford, Connecticut, to the American Missionary Association to aid in the education of the Negro. This fund now amounts to \$1,500,000 and is administered as part of the

nearly ten million dollars in permanent funds for Negro education in the hands of the American Missionary Association, which conducts 16 schools for Negroes.

Anna T. Jeanes Foundation. Established in 1907 by Miss Jeanes of Philadelphia with an endowment of two million dollars. Devoted to the improvement of Negro rural schools and the provision of supervising teachers, part of whose salaries are paid from public funds.

Phelps-Stokes Fund. Established in 1909 by the will of Miss Caroline Phelps-Stokes of New York City, with a bequest of \$900,000. Among the various purposes of the fund is the promotion of education of Negroes both in Africa and in the United States. It has rendered aid to Negro schools, colleges, and universities, to the cause of interracial cooperation, and to promising publications and movements in the interest of the Negro.

The Julius Rosenwald Fund. From its creation in 1917 through the year 1927 the fund was devoted to a special program of helping to build schoolhouses for Negroes in the Southern states and was administered directly by its founder, Julius Rosenwald of Chicago. In 1928 the fund became a general foundation "for the well-being of mankind." Its activities were expanded to include various aspects of Negro education and welfare. The Negro school-building program, which was begun in 1913, four years before the creation of the fund, was terminated in 1932. During this twenty-year period a total of 5,357 completed buildings had been created, with Rosenwald aid, located in 883 counties of 15 Southern states, costing \$28,408,520, of which \$4,366,519 or 15 per cent came from the Julius Rosenwald Fund and the balance from tax funds (64 per cent), personal contributions of white friends (4 per cent), and contributions from Negroes themselves (17 per cent). During the period 1928 to 1944 one of the fund's major efforts consisted in helping to create Negro university centers in Washington, Atlanta, Nashville, and New Orleans. It has also made contributions to improve the physical plants of state colleges for Negroes and to help build industrial high schools. Among its other activities have been fellowship awards for advanced study or special experience, the promotion of Negro health, the assistance of Negro organizations, and the improvement of race relations. By the terms of the original grant, which required the expenditure of capital as well as interest, the fund ended its work in 1948, having spent \$22,000,000.

General Education Board. This foundation, established by Mr. Rockefeller in 1902 for the promotion of education in the United States, is the largest fund of its kind. From the first, the improvement of Negro education has been one of its principal objects although the Board has no separate division for its work in this field. From

the time of its organization to the present, the General Education Board has appropriated over forty million dollars for Negro education. The greater part of this sum has been expended since 1919. Among its main activities have been the improvement of Negro rural schools in the South, the development of high schools, support of the leading Negro colleges and of the two Negro medical schools, and the awarding of fellowships and travel grants to the faculties of Negro institutions.

NEGRO COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

The foundations of higher education for Negroes in the South were laid during Reconstruction under the auspices of the Freedmen's Bureau. Following the Civil War, church boards and philanthropic individuals rushed to establish hundreds of private schools for freedmen throughout the South. Many of them were inadequately supported and of low standards. The first comprehensive survey of Negro schools, which was made by the Bureau of Education in 1916, recorded 625 private Negro schools and colleges still surviving. Though a large number called themselves colleges and even universities, there were very few institutions that had equipment for college work or students prepared to study college subjects. Under a liberal interpretation of college work, only 33 of the 653 private and state schools for colored people in 1916 were teaching any subjects of college grade. Only 2 per cent of the students enrolled were studying college subjects, and only 1.5 per cent were in professional classes. The survey further reported that only three institutions—Howard University, Fisk University, and Meharry Medical College—had student body, teaching force, equipment, and income sufficient to warrant the characterization of college. Negro colleges, thus, were named before they were born. A second survey, in 1928, reported 77 institutions as offering college work, and by 1930, 6 of them were able to meet a large percentage of the standards of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. The *Negro Year Book*, 1947, lists 117 colleges and universities for Negroes, practically all of them in the South, including normal and industrial schools and junior colleges as well as four-year colleges, with a total enrollment of approximately 45,000 students. Thirty-six of them were publicly controlled. Most of the private institutions were denominational. The endowment of all the privately controlled

Negro colleges would equal less than one-third that of Harvard University. Just 38 of all the Negro institutions were fully approved by the regional accrediting agencies as offering four years of college work. This includes the 10 land-grant colleges mentioned earlier. It is significant that Hampton Institute and Tuskegee Institute, which began as vocational schools, have come to offer sufficient work in the field of higher education to be rated as class A colleges. The same trend is indicated in the case of the land-grant colleges originally established to foster agriculture and mechanical arts. Only 4 of the Negro colleges had achieved a place on the approved list of the Association of American Universities (as compared with 91 white colleges in Southern states). These leading Negro institutions are Fisk University, Howard University, Talladega College, and North Carolina College for Negroes.

Aside from the industrial institutes, the Negro colleges began with a strong classical and religious tradition, which still persists although it is declining. The educational surveys referred to above found that Latin, Greek, and mathematics occupied a large place both in the entrance requirements and in the regular course, that very few of the schools had laboratories or other provisions for teaching the physical sciences, and that teacher-training subjects and the social sciences received but scant recognition. The aim seemed to be to copy the traditional college course rather than to adapt the college work to the needs of the pupils. Though the missionary era reached its apex by 1900, the classical tradition still persists. The *National Survey of Higher Education of Negroes*, conducted by the U.S. Office of Education in 1942, found that colleges for Negroes in general were below par in practically every significant area of educational service, though they had potentialities for development. The scope of undergraduate offerings was much narrower than that in white institutions. The Negro college curriculum in general lags from ten to thirty years behind the educational practices of the country. This survey also disclosed the fact that more Northern Negroes were attending these Negro colleges than were attending Northern universities. Thus the generally poorly equipped Negro colleges were serving not only Southern Negroes but thousands of Northern Negroes as well.

The higher education of Negroes, as both Gallagher and

Woodson have pointed out, has also been affected by outside influences motivated by ideas of what is "good" for the Negro. Such ideas include notions that the Negro has inferior mental capacity, that he has special "moral" traits, that he should be given training primarily in the crafts and trades, that he must not be educated away from "his place." There is slavish imitation of white colleges rather than adaptation to the special needs and circumstances of the Negroes, who are not prepared for the ordeal which they have to face. As a result, the higher education of Negroes has been actively opposed or led astray or otherwise hindered in its development.

The more recent policy adopted by some of the church boards and the leading foundations has been to transfer to the public educational system the schools of elementary and secondary grade and most of the colleges, to concentrate support on a small group of first-class higher institutions, and to make them modern colleges and universities in the full meaning of the terms. Notable progress has been made in reducing the number of private institutions and in strengthening those which remain. Under the leadership and support particularly of the General Education Board and the Rosenwald Fund, four Negro university centers have been created in the South, which include institutions of the highest standard, able to offer careers to distinguished Negro scholars, and to prepare the potential leaders of the race. These centers are (1) the Atlanta System, resulting from the affiliation of several institutions (Atlanta University, Morehouse College, and Spelman College); (2) Dillard University, New Orleans, established through the merger of New Orleans College and Straight College; (3) Fisk University and Meharry Medical College, Nashville; and (4) Howard University, Washington, D.C. A wider basis of financial support for Negro higher education was established in 1943 by the creation of the United Negro College Fund. This is a voluntary organization comprising 33 Negro private colleges united for the purpose of appealing annually for funds. The fund has had the active support of a group of prominent persons who have served as national campaign officers, and it has collected a little over one million dollars a year.

There is very little opportunity for a Southern Negro to do graduate work or obtain professional training. In 1945 only 12 Negro institutions were offering graduate instruction, and none

of them work beyond the master's degree. The program was limited, and the enrollment, except at Howard University and Atlanta University (both private institutions), was insignificant. When measured in terms of its provisions for white students, not a single Southern state was making adequate provision for the graduate education of Negroes. Professional offerings were virtually nonexistent in public institutions for Negroes (the only exceptions being Missouri and North Carolina) and were available in only a few private institutions. There were only two schools of medicine and two of dentistry open to Negroes; they were located at Howard University in Washington and Meharry Medical College at Nashville; neither is a state institution. Both are first-class schools, approved by the Association of Medical Schools, and despite their limited capacity they are almost entirely responsible for the national task of training Negro doctors and dentists and, in the case of Howard University, pharmacists as well. There were three law schools, two schools of social work, two of library science, one of journalism, and one of veterinary medicine. There were seven theological seminaries and nine schools of nursing. These schools are small and inadequately financed. Their total enrollment in 1945-1946 was less than 2,000. Only six of them were publicly supported institutions. Any Negro who desires professional training is forced to attend one of these schools or to go to a Northern institution where graduate and professional courses are open to all persons regardless of color.

Some Southern states, especially the border ones, early attempted to overcome this inequality of facilities and, at the same time, to exclude Negroes from the white universities by adopting a system of state scholarships which entitle the recipients to financial aid at institutions "where they may be lawfully admitted," which means in some Northern state. By 1947 every Southern state except Mississippi had provided for such out-of-state scholarships, especially for graduate and professional study. In most cases, these are "differential scholarships" to make up the difference it would cost Negro students to study in the state's white institutions and their expenses at another university where racial segregation is not required. The legality of this method of providing for the higher education of the Negro has been tested and found wanting by court decisions in Maryland and Missouri. In 1935 Maryland passed a law providing scholarship aid to Negro

graduate and professional students studying outside the state. Within three months after the act was passed, 284 students had formally applied for scholarships. Limited funds permitted only 97 scholarships to be awarded. Thus 187 Negro students were left wholly unprovided for. A lawsuit was brought against the University of Maryland for denying the admission of a Negro applicant (Donald Murray). The basic contention of the suit was that the state was supplying professional training for white students in the tax-supported university but was denying such training to Negro students and that that denial was contrary to the Constitution. The suit was won in 1936 in the court of appeals, which held that the state was obligated to supply a first-class law school for Negroes or else to admit them to the existing law school. Murray was admitted to the University of Maryland Law School where he graduated in 1938. Since then, other Negro students have been admitted, and no problem has arisen.

A more thoroughgoing decision affecting the out-of-state scholarship system was rendered by the United States Supreme Court in 1938 in the case of *Lloyd Gaines v. University of Missouri Law School*. The court held that Missouri, in compelling Negro law students to attend school outside the state, had violated the "equal rights" provision of the Constitution. Chief Justice Hughes, who delivered the majority opinion, stated,

The white resident is afforded legal education within the state; the Negro resident having the same qualifications is refused it there and must go outside the state to obtain it. That is a denial of the equality of legal right to the enjoyment of the privilege which the state has set up, and the provision for the payment of tuition fees in another state does not remove the discrimination.

Missouri's reaction to this decision was to establish in 1939 a law school at Lincoln University, a land-grant college for Negroes in that state. This was followed by the establishment there of a Graduate School in 1940 and a School of Journalism in 1941. Missouri discovered, however, that it had to pay a price for its policy of segregation. The cost to educate each white law student at the University of Missouri is \$228 a year, while the state must pay \$807 for each colored law student in the separate school because of the small enrollment. Even then, the Negroes are not getting a really equal education.

Following the decision of the United States Supreme Court to the effect that the Southern states must either establish adequate graduate and professional schools for Negroes or else allow them to attend the state universities, there occurred an increase in the number of Negro applicants, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People launched a campaign against the discrimination in universities supported at public expense. As a result of the case of *Herman Sweatt v. University of Texas* in 1946, also involving legal training, the state appropriated three million dollars to set up a Negro university at Prairie View. It is significant of changing Southern attitudes that white students at the University of Texas started a campaign to secure Sweatt's admission to the University, invited him to join a co-operative house on the campus, and established a college chapter of the N.A.A.C.P. A similar case arose in 1946 when Ada Lois Sipuel was denied admission to the School of Law of the University of Oklahoma. The case was carried to the United States Supreme Court which, in 1948, reaffirmed its decision in the Gaines case and went a step beyond that by ordering that its mandate to provide the Negro applicant with a legal education in a state-supported school must issue forthwith and not at some time in the future. The state then proceeded to set up a separate Negro law school while a thousand white students at the University of Oklahoma held a mass demonstration denouncing the university officials for refusal to admit Negro students. In the fall of 1948 the board of regents of the University of Oklahoma ordered the admission of a Negro graduate student "on a segregated basis."

Faced with the Supreme Court ruling, the Southern states must provide equal educational facilities for the two races. There are only two ways in which the poorer states can do this out of their own resources. One way would involve reducing the already low standards of white institutions by incurring the expense of setting up parallel institutions for Negroes. If this could be done on a regional basis, by the establishment of co-operatively owned and operated regional schools, as was proposed by the Southern Governors Conference on Feb. 8, 1948, the cost would be less. The other way would require that white institutions be opened to Negroes. Maryland, as we have already noted, has adopted this policy in its law school. In 1948 the University of Delaware lifted its ban on Negroes and announced that it would admit Negro

residents of the state to any course of study at the university not offered by the Delaware State College for Negroes. Following a decision in March, 1949, of a United States District Court requiring the University of Kentucky to admit qualified Negro applicants to its graduate school, the University announced that courses in engineering, law, and pharmacy will also be open to them. In the lower South, the University of Arkansas in 1948 agreed to accept Negro students for graduate instruction but stipulated that they be taught apart from white students in the university buildings. One student immediately enrolled in the law school where he was greeted in friendly fashion by the faculty and student body. In the fall of 1948 the University of Arkansas admitted a Negro to its medical school *without segregation*, and it abolished the separation policy in its law school. These moves are significant in that they indicate a break in the segregated and unequal school system. The entering wedge is being applied quite appropriately at the graduate and professional school level where it involves but few and highly qualified individuals and where the white student population is most liberal. If this process continues, it will next logically develop in the undergraduate colleges, then in the secondary schools, and finally at the elementary school level. In the case of less-than-college education, however, the numbers involved are so large and residential concentration is so great that, even if the laws requiring segregation should eventually be rescinded, separate schools will continue to exist along with mixed schools.

NEGRO STUDENTS ENROLLED IN NORTHERN COLLEGES

About one-sixth or one-seventh of the Negroes obtaining higher education are enrolled in white colleges and universities in the North. This proportion also applies to Negro college and professional school graduates. An estimate of the number of Negroes enrolled in such institutions is published each year by *The Crisis* magazine, based on a survey which it makes. Although this survey is not complete, since records according to race are not kept by at least fourteen important universities known to have an appreciable enrollment of Negro students, it is the most inclusive one made each year. For the academic year 1946-1947 it reported 2,853 Negroes enrolled in Northern colleges, with Ohio State University leading with an enrollment of 1,029, followed by

Temple University with 554, the University of Illinois with 271, and Kansas University with 224. Other institutions that have enrolled an appreciable number of Negro students include Indiana University, the city colleges of New York, Kansas State College, University of Arizona, University of Nebraska, University of Omaha, and Western Reserve University. It also reported 115 Negroes receiving the bachelor's degree in 1947, 73 the master's, 8 the doctor's, and 18 other advanced or professional degrees from Northern "white" institutions.

Private schools and colleges, even though they are located in Northern states, cannot be forced by Federal action to admit Negro students for the Fourteenth Amendment has been held to apply only to institutions of a public character. A state, however, may enact a nondiscriminatory policy. For example, in 1948 New York State passed a law making racial and religious discrimination in the admission of students to colleges illegal and vesting the State Education Department with power to eliminate such practices. President Truman's Commission on Higher Education recommended in its report in 1947 that "the 'quota system' which now serves in many schools and colleges in all parts of the country to exclude Jews, Negroes, and others should be promptly eliminated—in practice as well as in theory." Many well-known colleges in the North have no Negro students, and while they do not openly say so, they have hitherto refused to admit them. Examples are or have been Princeton University until the Second World War when it had several Negro naval trainees who later enrolled at the war's end and graduated, Mills College, George Washington University, Swarthmore College, Johns Hopkins University until 1945, and until recently most Catholic universities. In the case of both private institutions which choose to admit Negroes and public institutions which are required to, it frequently happens that the Negro students are segregated or discriminated against in some respect. Frequently they are not permitted to reside in the dormitories or to use the swimming pool, to seek places on athletic teams or participate in the more strictly social affairs such as dances. They are regularly excluded from the white fraternities and sororities, sometimes even from honorary fraternities, membership in which is supposed to be won on merit, with the result that the Negro students have organized their own societies.

THE NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATE

Although the record of Negro college graduates goes back to the early nineteenth century, it was not until after emancipation that the higher education of Negroes became more than sporadic individual ventures. The first Negro college graduate in America was John Russwurm, who shortly afterwards added to this accidental distinction that of being founder of *Freedom's Journal*, the first Negro newspaper. He was graduated from Bowdoin College in Maine in 1826. In the next twenty years there were only seven more Negro graduates of recognized colleges, and by 1860 there had been but twenty-eight. Under the influence of missionaries bent upon developing some measure of social and religious leadership for the recently emancipated slaves, the number of college and professional school graduates rapidly increased, and it has maintained a steady growth ever since, reaching 20,417 in the decade 1926 to 1935 as contrasted with 1,017 in the decade 1876 to 1885. The most comprehensive study of the Negro college graduate is that by Charles S. Johnson which covers the period from 1826 to 1936. During this time 31,090 academic degrees were conferred upon Negroes and 12,731 professional degrees, or a total of 43,821. Of these, 6,424 or 14.7 per cent were conferred by Northern institutions, and 37,397 or 85.3 per cent by Negro schools. In the academic field the Northern institutions have conferred most of the masters' degrees (1,555) and all the doctors' degrees (153), while the Negro institutions have conferred most of the bachelors' degrees (29,382) and a large proportion of the professional degrees. Up to 1946 a total of 192 Negroes had been elected to Phi Beta Kappa. A study by Greene reveals that from 1876, when a Negro for the first time received the Ph.D. degree (awarded at Yale University), to 1943 at least 381 persons of Negro descent have attained to this, the highest of earned academic degrees. Of the 43 American universities which conferred these degrees, the University of Chicago leads with 40, followed by Columbia University with 35, University of Pennsylvania 28, Cornell University 25, and Harvard University 25.

The earliest Negro college graduates went primarily into the ministry and secondarily into teaching. The ministry increased steadily until 1900, when it reached its peak, first place thereafter going to the teaching profession. The Negro ministry has become

relatively overcrowded: in proportion to the population there are twice as many Negro as white clergymen. The educational preparation of ministers is less than that of any other group among the professions. Professor Johnson's study gives a good deal of information on the distribution, occupation, and other characteristics of living Negro college graduates. He finds that the great bulk of Negro college graduates (over three-fourths of those of the private and state colleges) have gone into the professional field, with teaching leading by a wide margin. Even the vocational schools show over a third of their graduates in the professions, most of them elementary teachers, especially teachers of manual training. The vocational schools have sent more of their graduates into the professions than into industry, while the industrial departments of the Negro colleges seem never to have been seriously intended to produce craftsmen. Approximately three-fourths of living Negro college graduates reside in the Southern states having a separate school system, although in proportion of graduates per 10,000 Negro population the Northern ratio is approximately twice that of the Southern. If, however, the border states are separated from the rest of the South, they show a higher concentration of Negro college graduates than does the North. The concentration of graduates in the border states is most marked in the District of Columbia. "This undoubtedly reflects a longer history of Negro education, a more adequate public school system, a longer history of Negro migration, the incentive of the prospect of employment in government clerical positions and teaching, and a living level according a means of educating children." Northern-born graduates tend on the whole to remain in the North, but the proportion that has gone South is slightly greater than that of the Southern-born graduates who have gone North.

Although education, especially higher education, has brought the Negroes advantages, it has also brought them new difficulties and perplexities. The development of their abilities has not been matched by growth of their opportunities or improvement in their position. This disequilibrium appears in the occupational limitation placed on Negroes of ability and training; it is also apparent in the limitations placed on their social mobility and community participation. When the Negro college graduate leaves the halls of the college or the university that has granted him a degree, he

is involved in deep-lying conflicts that do not confront the white college graduate. Education has introduced him into the democratic American world and its values and goals; in the actual world in which he finds himself he is more or less completely isolated from the sources of the intellectual and cultural life of the majority and not free to accept for himself the same values and to strive for the same goals as the rest of the population. Some who have acquired a college degree have lost the hope and confidence which made them work so hard to attain it. Asked the editor of *Opportunity* (September, 1937, p. 261),

By what magic can the Negro student be taught to believe in Democracy when he knows that the fundamental right of the franchise is withheld from him regardless of his educational attainments in most of the Southern states? . . . Must the Negro college student be deprived of the freedom to think lest he disturb and upset the tenets of race relations as they are currently held and thereby endanger the very existence of Negro universities? And yet that freedom is the basis of real intellectual achievement and without it scholarship must inevitably become sterile and fruitless.

These questions cannot be evaded and continually dismissed; on their solution depends the place of the Negro in American life. The large and increasing number of Negro college graduates and the increasing literacy of the great mass of Negroes are bound to have their effect on race relations and the civil and political status of Negroes in the United States.

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CHAPTER 7

THE NEGRO AND RELIGION

The American Negro has adopted the white man's religion and most of his denominations and has added a few more of his own. This is a typical illustration of acculturation effected through the processes of imitation and inculcation. As in the case of other peoples who have adopted a new religious form, the Negroes have put their own interpretation upon it. This is to be seen in part in the Negro denominations, mentioned below, and in part in the survival of African beliefs and the intermingling of Christian and primitive notions which may be termed folk religion, still prevalent in the more rural and backward parts of the South. For example, in *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro* Puckett mentions a case in Georgia where to win a lawsuit Negroes will write the names of the twelve apostles on sage leaves and put them in their shoes before entering the courthouse. He also refers to luck charms concocted by "conjure doctors," descendants of African medicine men. One such charm was made by putting in a small root called "Seed of the Earth," which stood for the Father, some "Devil's Shoe-string," representing the Son, and "Sampson's Snake Root," representing the Holy Ghost; and sewing it in black flannel (Father), with white thread (Son), and placing it in red flannel (Holy Ghost) to make it thoroughly effective. A Negro in New Orleans informed him that an image of St. Joseph wrapped in red flannel, saturated with whisky, and carried upside down in a metal case is a very powerful luck charm. In the literature on Southern Negroes much attention has been given to folklore and superstitions, perhaps a disproportionate amount as measured by their importance in the life of the Negro today, for this lore is fast disappearing in the United States. It is rather in the West Indies and in parts of South America that African folklore and superstition still play an important part in the Negro's life. At the other end of the scale, the Negroes have enriched American cul-

ture with their religious poetry and music and developed our only truly great indigenous religious art—the spiritual.

The actual conditions under which the African slaves were converted to Christianity have not been fully investigated. It is known in a general way, however, that there was at first considerable opposition to extending Christianity to them, because they were considered as scarcely human and because it was feared that their conversion would impair the master's rights to his slaves. Later the admission that they might become Christians brought up the question of membership in churches. It is well established that the house servants, because of their favored position in relation to the master class, were the first to be given religious instruction, and they were early admitted to the churches. There are some old churches still existing in the South which had galleries for Negro slaves. The house servants were also admitted to family prayers, and in some instances there were later established plantation chapels. The practice varied according to the planter and the community. Another important influence in Christianizing the Negroes was the work of the missionaries, which began in the early part of the eighteenth century. Chief among them were the Methodists and Baptists, who, more than any others, brought to the masses of the slaves a form of Christianity that the latter could make their own. In a number of respects Christianity was a boon to the Negroes, cut off from their country and their former tribesmen. As Powdermaker has pointed out, it gave them a historical tradition, a literature, a background all at once. They were too far scattered to retain much of their language, myths, and traditions or to keep alive their African culture, but Christianity, with its wealth of historical tradition, was theirs, and the Bible offered much with which they could immediately identify themselves. They could and did fit into the concept of God's chosen people; they, like the ancient Hebrews, were in bondage, longing for the promised land.

THE SEPARATE NEGRO CHURCH

Increase in the number of Negro converts and the rise of the Negro preacher, together with the natural desires of both whites and Negroes, led to the establishment of separate churches for Negroes. The first Negro church in America was founded in South Carolina in 1773. This marked the beginning of the Baptist

church among Negroes. The Protestant Episcopal church among Negroes dates back to 1787. The African Methodist Episcopal denomination was formed in Philadelphia in 1816 and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion in New York in 1821. From these early beginnings the separate Negro church has become the rule. From one standpoint this means segregation, since the Negroes have not generally been welcome in white churches, North as well as South. On the other hand it means freedom of self-expression and development. It was in his religious and church life that the Negro first gained freedom and first developed leadership, and he has to this day found fewer restrictions in this phase of his life than in any other.

Although Negroes have frequently taken the initiative in bringing about separation, it appears that such steps were not taken until it was obvious that they were not welcome in the white churches. The degree of separation, especially in the Protestant churches which are most involved, is practically complete; and the existence of "caste in the church," contrary to the Christian concept of the brotherhood of man, is a matter of increasing concern to white religious leaders. A survey sponsored by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America reveals that less than 1 per cent of the Negro Protestants in the nation are included in white congregations. Where mixture of racial groups in a congregation occurs, the most typical situation is that of two or three Negro members in an overwhelmingly white church. In the Methodist Church, which has more Negro members than any other white denomination—estimated at about 300,000 in 1948—not more than 640 of them are members of white Methodist churches. Within the central organization of the Methodist Church there is a separate division or jurisdiction for Negroes. Segregation also permeates the schools and colleges, hospitals, and other enterprises under denominational control. On the other hand it should be recalled that church groups, notably the American Missionary Association, have contributed greatly to Negro education and welfare.

The most forthright denunciation of the color line in the church was made by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America in March, 1946, when it adopted a statement renouncing "the pattern of segregation in race relations as unnecessary and undesirable and a violation of the Gospel of love and human

brotherhood," and requested its constituent communions to do likewise. Subsequently, a number of national denominational gatherings endorsed this action of the Federal Council and affirmed it as their own. Segregation in the church, however, is not likely to be eliminated so long as segregation exists in jobs, schools, hospitals, public places, and particularly in residences. As racially exclusive residential neighborhoods are the rule, local churches tend to serve communicants of a single racial type. The integration of the Negro in the church must go hand in hand with the integration of the Negro in community life generally though the church may adopt the role of leadership. With the race situation being what it is now, even though Negroes are opposed to church segregation in principle, most of them prefer to worship in Negro churches. Moreover, the Negro church serves as a channel for various kinds of expression and meets the needs of the group in a way that would not be possible in the mixed or integrated church.

There are approximately 40,000 Negro churches in the United States today, more in proportion to their population than may be found among the whites. This is especially true in the South where C. Luther Fry (p. 32) reports a church for every 178 adults among the Negroes as compared with one church per 340 adults among the whites. Economic and educational considerations would demand fewer but better churches. These churches have originated from various factors including growing racial consciousness; the desire of the Negro to manage and direct his own religious activities; schisms; migration, especially to the North; and missions of other churches. They exhibit great diversity: Northern and Southern, rural and urban, sophisticated and naïve, permanently organized and fly-by-night, traditional in belief and unconventional. A larger proportion of Negroes than of whites are church members, though it is the Negro women who are particularly attracted to the churches. According to Fry's study, based largely on 1926 census data, the ratio of church membership among colored women thirteen years of age and over was 73 per cent while for white women it was 62 per cent. Only 46 per cent of Negro men, on the other hand, were church members, compared with 49 per cent of white men. This would give a sex ratio as to church membership of 63 males to every 100 females among Negroes, and 79 per 100 among whites. According to the 1936

Census on Religious Bodies the situation remained approximately the same, the ratios being 60 per 100 among Negroes and 78.5 among whites. The value of church property in the hands of Negroes is about \$200,000,000. In the South the church buildings are better than the schools because the Negroes build their own churches while their schools are provided by the whites. The Negro is generous to his church, and he has developed a special form of collecting the offering, to be found especially in the South. No plates are passed; instead a table is set near the front of the church, and those making an offering take it in person to the table. While the collection is being offered, the deacons walk up and down the aisle urging their brothers and sisters to be generous. Frequently the purpose of the offering and the amount needed are announced beforehand, and singing and exhortation may take place for a good fraction of an hour before this part of the service is over.

The U.S. Bureau of the Census, which reports every ten years on religious bodies in the United States, includes a separate presentation for Negro churches. Since the census is of religious organizations rather than an inquiry into the religious affiliations of individuals, there is no record of Negro members of white churches. The number, however, must be extremely small. The vast majority of Negro church members, as we have already observed, attend separate churches. These fall into two groups: churches belonging to white denominations and independent Negro denominations. According to the Census of *Religious Bodies, 1936*, 471,944 Negroes were members of churches of white denominations, with the Methodists (193,761), Baptists (45,821), and Roman Catholics (137,684) leading. Most of the Negro Catholics are to be found in Louisiana; leading urban centers are New Orleans, Baltimore, Washington, Chicago, and New York. On the other hand, 5,176,337 Negroes were reported as members of independent Negro denominations, and an additional 12,337 as members of independent Negro churches without any denominational designation. Here again the Baptist and Methodist influence is predominant, as seen in the accompanying table. The attraction of the Negroes to these forms of Protestantism is of long standing. The Methodists and Baptists were especially prominent in the early missionary work among Negroes and enrolled the greatest number of Negro converts, owing mainly to their methods of

evangelization which appealed strongly to the temperament of the Negroes. The visible rite of baptism, the prominence given to religious feeling and fervor, and the possibility of individual participation in the service were especially attractive to the Negroes. In one of the old plantation hymns the Negro sang

Of all de folks I like de bes'
I love de shouting Methodist.

The accompanying table lists the colored denominations reporting to the Bureau of the Census in 1936 and shows the number of churches and of members belonging to each. We have already commented on the diversity to be found among Negro churches. It should further be noted that the churches minister to various classes within the Negro population. In general, Negroes of low status attend the "sanctified" sects, the "cults," and the "store-front" churches. The great mass of Negroes belong to the more formally organized colored Baptist and Methodist churches. The upper class Negroes either attend a "class-typed" congregation within the colored Baptist and Methodist group, or they do not belong to a colored denomination at all but attend a church of "white" denomination such as the Protestant Episcopal, Congregational, or Presbyterian. The Baptist bodies total 3,848,277 in membership, the Methodist bodies 1,199,275; together they comprise 97 per cent of the membership of Negro denominations. Of the other colored denominations, some are in general accord with traditional church doctrines while others deviate from them more or less sharply. The African Orthodox Church, for instance, is a combination of Anglican, Roman, and Greek Orthodox formularies. The Church of God and Saints of Christ believes that the Negro race is descended from the ten lost tribes of Israel; it observes the Jewish calendar and feast days, especially the Jewish Sabbath. Others hold such doctrines as divine healing, the second coming of Christ, pacifism, use of the New Testament as a guide for all conduct, and, in a number of instances, sanctification. By the latter term is meant freedom from sin and from earthly bonds and direct communion with God; in evidence of complete sanctification the members are given power of speaking with new tongues.

Independent Negro churches, without any denominational designation, were first listed in the Census of 1936, which reported

COLORED DENOMINATIONS

Denomination	Number of churches	Number of members
African Orthodox Church.....	13	1,952
Apostolic Overcoming Holy Church of God.....	23	863
Baptist bodies:		
Colored Primitive Baptists.....	1,009	43,897
National Baptist Evangelical Life and Soul Saving As- sembly of the United States of America.....	28	2,300
Negro Baptists.....	23,093	3,782,464
United American Free Will Baptist Church (Colored).....	226	19,616
Christ's Sanctified Holy Church Colored.....	31	665
Church of Christ (Holiness) U.S.A.....	106	7,379
Church of God and Saints of Christ.....	213	37,084
Church of God in Christ.....	772	31,564
Church of the Living God, Christian Workers for Fellow- ship.....	96	4,525
Church of the Living God, "The Pillar and Ground of Truth".....	119	4,838
Churches of God, Holiness.....	35	5,872
Colored Cumberland Presbyterian Church.....	145	10,668
Fire Baptized Holiness Church of God of the Americas..	59	1,973
Free Christian Zion Church of Christ.....	9	1,840
House of God, the Holy Church of the Living God, the Pillar and Ground of the Truth, House of Prayer for All People, The.....	4	200
House of the Lord.....	4	302
Kodesh Church of Immanuel.....	9	562
Latter House of the Lord, Apostolic Faith, The.....	2	29
Methodist bodies:		
African Methodist Episcopal Church.....	4,578	493,357
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.....	2,252	414,244
African Union Methodist Protestant Church.....	45	4,239
Colored Methodist Episcopal Church.....	2,063	269,915
Colored Methodist Protestant Church.....	1	216
Independent African Methodist Episcopal Church....	29	1,064
Reformed Methodist Union Episcopal Church.....	25	1,836
Reformed Zion Union Apostolic Church.....	54	5,035
Union American Methodist Episcopal Church.....	71	9,369
National David Spiritual Temple of Christ Church Union	11	1,880
Negro Mission of the Synodical Conference.....	81	8,985
Triumph the Church and Kingdom of God in Christ....	2	69
United Holy Church of America, Inc.....	162	7,535
Total.....	35,370	5,176,337
Independent Negro Churches.....	50	12,337

SOURCE: Compiled from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies*, 1936, Vol. II, *Denominations*.

50, practically half of them in the District of Columbia, with a membership of 12,337. The list is far from being complete. These churches are indicative of the initiative of persons who have desired to become leaders of religious bodies and of the inability or disinclination to conform to the practices of well-established churches. The names of some of these churches are peculiar: The Metaphysical Church of the Divine Investigation, Prophet Bess, Tabernacle of the Congregation of the Disciples of the Kingdom, Saints of the Solid Rock of Holiness. One special Negro sect, found in parts of Alabama, is the Sheep-calling Baptists. In order to partake of the communion, which is observed two hours before daybreak, the members gather in the church and then disperse among the trees and bushes outside. The preacher dons his robe, and in the character of a shepherd goes forth to gather his sheep. "Coo-oo sheep. Coo-oo sheep—coosky-coo-oo sheep!" he calls, and the members of his flock from their place in the woods answer: "Ba! Ba!" and follow him into the church to observe the sacrament, where black bread is provided for the outsider and white bread for the true sheep.

Many of the independent Negro churches are so-called storefront or house churches from their place of meeting. This type of church is more numerous in the North than in the South, where it has appeared following the migration of Negroes to urban centers; the rural and small-town Negro did not feel at home in the city church and desired a form of worship similar to that which he knew in the rural South. In some instances such churches have been established by Negroes who have received revelations or who have set themselves up as messiahs. For example, one who styles himself "The Almighty Prophet" has founded the Almighty Church, which meets in a house in Cleveland. According to his statement, God has commissioned him to establish this church and "has chosen me to work a supreme wonder work in your day, and such a work that you will in no wise believe it, though I declare it unto you. I tell you as a people that there is nothing that is impossible for God and I to do." A new messiah, come to save the colored brethren of St. Louis, "knows the exact geographical location of the Garden of Eden and the Lands of Nod." There are a number of Black Jewish congregations in New York and elsewhere in the United States. The Commandment Keepers, organized in 1919, are said to be the oldest of these sects, which

claim that the Israelites came out of Ethiopia. The Black Jews are probably derived from a band of Jewish refugees from Palestine about 2,600 years ago who found sanctuary in Ethiopia where they came to be known as Falashas. They converted some of the natives to Judaism and mingled with them. In several American cities are organized colored Moslem groups, led by Negroes from Africa, Syrians, and others. These Negroes are confirmed believers in Islam, they read the Koran and other Moslem literature, and accept Islam at full value.

Some of the leaders of the erratic Negro sects are impostors; some have been convicted on moral and other charges. Consider for example the Eternal Life cult, established by Elder Roberson, self-styled "Black Messiah" in Harlem. His congregation grew when word went forth that those who followed him would never die. To give zest to this statement he called his meeting place the "Church of the Ever-living and Never-dying" and called himself "The Messiah from the East" and "God Almighty." The number of his believers increased to about three hundred. Roberson frequently said that at his second "incarceration" he would be the head of the world and would rule all the people from the White House in Washington. Actually he has enjoyed his second incarceration. His first incarceration came when he was arrested for grand larceny and sentenced for three years in New Jersey. His second, which put an end to his religious endeavors in Harlem, came when he was arrested by Federal officials and convicted for violating the Mann Act; he had more than a score of Negro girls, many of them brought from Chicago, in his house in New York. A colored sociologist, Ira deA. Reid, after investigating the storefront type of church in Harlem, has commented as follows:

The whole group is characterized by the machinations of impostors who do their work in great style. Bishops without a diocese, those who heal with divine inspiration, praying circles that charge for their services, American Negroes turned Jews "over night," theological seminaries conducted in the rear of "railroad" apartments, Black Rev. Wm. Sundays, Ph.D., who have escaped the wrath of many communities, new denominations built upon the fundamental doctrine of race—all these and even more contribute to the prostitution of the church. And there seems to be no end to their growth. Already have five new institutions been opened for business. One thinks of the much advertised cinema production "Hell Bent for Heaven."

The most notorious of these peculiar colored sects is the Faith Eternal cult of George Baker, alias Father Divine, alias God, who rose from hedgekeeper in Baltimore to heavenkeeper in Harlem. He was born about 1882 in Savannah, Georgia, according to earthly reports; but according to him he was not born at all, but was "combusted" at the corner of 134th Street and Seventh Avenue, New York, about 1900. In 1915 Baker, who had set up as a religious leader in Baltimore and taken the spiritual name of "The Messenger," came to New York with 12 disciples and started a communal household. Later the group moved to Sayville, Long Island, where for about ten years it prospered but without much expansion. About 1930 the group began to do a good deal of entertaining, and when the word spread around in New York that "free chicken dinners, all you can eat, and everybody welcome" were provided, the place had all the company it could hold. The opposition of neighboring property owners was aroused, and Baker, who had become Father Divine by the process of appropriating a name that pleased him, was sent to jail for maintaining a public nuisance. The trial was a sensation. Much publicity was given to the movement, and "Father" was not slow in taking advantage of it. When the judge who sent him to jail died three days later of a heart attack, "Father" stated with masterful showmanship, "I hated to do it." The headquarters were moved to Harlem, where the movement continued to grow. There are said to be 158 "heavens" in 22 states of the United States and in several foreign countries, and Father Divine states: "I have not yet done anything to what I will do—not so much as a percent of a percent of a percent of a fraction of a grain of what I will do universally, as well as among you." It is estimated that Father Divine has dispersed one and a half million dollars a year on his New York "kingdoms"—a collection of boardinghouses, coalyards, laundries, restaurants, garages, etc., which are tenanted and staffed by his followers, who have surrendered to him their economic as well as spiritual affairs. He has acquired the 500-acre estate of Krum Elbow on the Hudson River, 1,000 acres of farm land near Kingsport, New York, and a mansion on Madison Avenue as his personal headquarters. Later he moved to Philadelphia. He married a white woman, his private secretary is a white man, and the sect has both white and Negro members who freely intermingle in the New York "heavens," while in other states separate

"heavens" are usually established for whites and blacks. One of the important factors in Father Divine's success is his ability to make speeches that are received as gospel by his adherents. The speeches may not make much sense, but their rhythm is persuasive. For example, one of his addresses began as follows: "Peace, every one! Good health, good-will and good appetite, with good manners, good behavior, all success, and all prosperity; good afternoon, good evening, good night, and good morning again! Here we all are and there I am, there I sit and here you stand, in the unity of spirit, of mind, of aim, and of purpose." Father Divine's influence is also explained in large part by the fact that he came along when economic conditions were at their worst and offered free lodging, cheap meals, and an employment service that actually found a considerable number of jobs. Moreover, the movement has great appeal as an escape from social maladjustment and discrimination. Baker's megalomania may be regarded as an overcompensation for his early bitter experiences. According to his biographer, John Horsher, in his boyhood town of Savannah he confronted a socially false Christianity in the guise of a Jim Crow church and Sunday school, which he refused to attend, and he was sent to jail for sixty days for "riding in that part of a trolley car reserved exclusively for whites." As Alain Locke has commented: from such psychological acorns with strong personalities, powerful movements may grow, irrational in their creed, but righteous in their spirit and conviction. What is reported as a farce may conceal a deep human and social tragedy.

THE NEGRO PREACHER

The preacher is the most unique personality developed by the American Negro. DuBois (*The Souls of Black Folk*, p. 190) calls him "a leader, a politician, an orator, a 'boss,' an intriguer, an idealist." Traditionally a "call to preach" has been considered a more important qualification than education or professional training. An analysis of unpublished 1930 census materials made by C. Luther Fry shows that while almost three out of eight ministers of white denominations did not claim to be graduates of either college or seminary, the ratio among Negro preachers was more than three out of four. This lack of training is especially characteristic of the rural ministry for the returns show that 83 per cent of the rural as contrasted with 62 per cent of the urban Negro

ministers were nongraduates. An investigation by Mays and Nicholson of 591 Negro urban pastors and 134 rural pastors reported 62 per cent of the former and 96 per cent of the latter as not graduates of either college or seminary. Nearly three out of five of the rural pastors were graduates of only the grammar school. These investigators also found that the younger ministers are better trained academically than the older men, and the Northern pastors are better trained than the Southern. They also analyzed 100 sermons and classified 54 of them as predominantly otherworldly, 20 as highly doctrinal or theological, and 26 as practical, that is, as touching concrete life situations. As a class Negro preachers have been losing influence and prestige, largely because they have not advanced as fast as the rest of the Negro community in education and in outlook. The most capable and ambitious of Negro youth are now going into other professions than the ministry.

Negro preachers, especially the old-fashioned type to be found primarily in the rural South, are liberally endowed with powerful voices and a great native ability for the expression of feeling through rhythmical gestures and utterances. As James Weldon Johnson has pointed out in his autobiography *Along This Way* (p. 338), the secret of eloquence is rhythm.

The inner secret of sheer oratory is not so much in *what* is said as in the combination of the *how*, *when*, and *where*. The *how* is the most important of these factors, and its chief virtue lies in "timing"; that is, in the ability of the speaker to set up a series of rhythmic emotional vibrations between himself and his hearers. I have witnessed the accomplishment of this feat by old-time Negro preachers using pure incoherencies.

Johnson's *God's Trombones, Seven Negro Sermons in Verse* superbly portrays the eloquence of the simple but gifted Negro preacher. Puckett (p. 534) has recorded how the Negro preacher for emotional effect will often repeat some expression like the beating of a tom-tom, as, for example,

Wal' bretheren—oh mah Lawd—look at ole Norah—oh mah Lawd—
buildin' on de Ark—oh mah Lawd—folkes a-laughin' at him—oh mah
Lawd—'for' long de rain come—oh mah Lawd—didn't have no shelter
—oh mah Lawd—no place ter sot a fiah—oh mah Lawd. . . .

The success of the sermon is measured by the extent to which the preacher arouses the religious emotion of his congregation, who take part in the service at climactic emotional points with shouts of "Amen," "Hab' mussy," "Yes Lord," "You tell 'em," "That's right," "Oh Lawd," "Oh Jesus." Some preachers, if the audience is cold, ask for responses with "How am I doing?" "I'm gonna preach now," and "Let me know it." The readiness of the unsophisticated Negro to respond to his emotions is one of his chief characteristics. Swayed by religious feeling, he expresses himself in various ways—in chanted prayers, responses to the pastor's exhortations, shouting, and songs of a weird meter. Most Negro spirituals have been composed in church by the entire congregation, for example, during a religious service in which chanting is accompanied by soft patting and clapping and by ejaculatory prayers. A tenor voice suddenly sings a felicitous line, half the congregation takes it up, then the whole congregation sings, and the tenor finishes the stanza alone. Thus the first stanza of a new Negro spiritual has been created. Other stanzas follow in the same manner.

The chief elements in Negro religious expression, as analyzed by Krueger, appear to be spontaneity, uninhibited expressiveness, excitement, rhythm, interest in the dramatic, and love of the mysterious and unusual. This type of religious expression is very similar to that of the white revivals and camp meetings of an earlier day. Indeed, the Negro may have originally taken over this pattern from the whites and reinforced it. Jackson traces the Negro spiritual with its call and response patterns back to the white revival song, which in turn derived from the folk hymn. Others hold that the Negro ecstatic religious service with its stamping and shuffling and shouting goes back to the "shout" of plantation days, which originated with the exposure of the slaves to the white revivalist movement, though Herskovits believes that these manifestations are more in the African than in the European tradition. At least, what the church is now to the Southern rural Negro, the camp meeting was for the whites of the same section as late as a generation ago. During the heyday of the camp meetings and revivals at the beginning of the nineteenth century, patterns of religious expression were established which still prevail among the Negroes (and also among whites of the same

untutored, backwoods type). States Charles S. Johnson in his *Shadow of the Plantation* (pp. 151-152),

It was at this time that the ecstatic shouting, screaming, falling, rolling, laughing, jerking, and even barking of mass hysteria under the stress of religious enthusiasm, now most commonly regarded as characteristically Negro emotionalism, came into vogue. Likewise, during this early period the sermon patterns of exhorting, with accompanying mannerisms, were first noted. Many of the stereotyped expressions which go to make up the common prayers may be traced to the vivid language of these early evangelists. These expressions, based largely upon scriptural language, are common to many parts of the country and are as fixed as ritual. Faris suggests the influence of these patterns on the Negro slave as a possible explanation of patterns of their own emotionalism in religion.

These patterns of religious observance have been largely discarded not only by the whites but by many Negroes as well, as a result of advancing sophistication.

The old-fashioned Negro preacher, though ignorant and illiterate, is often a colorful personality and a powerful speaker. Such a person is frequently called a "muscle preacher," that is, one who does not write and read his sermon but relies on the inspiration of the moment; one who "talks from the muscle" (from the heart), not the mind. Sermons from the heart are sometimes known as sermons "with gravy," that is, not dry. Similarly, Southern Negroes sometimes distinguish between "blue-veined" and "gravy" churches. An example of the colorful, exaggerated language sometimes employed is the following prayer offered by a colored preacher in a small town in Mississippi, as reported by the Associated Negro Press and quoted in Detweiler's *The Negro Press in the United States* (p. 215):

Oh, Lawd, give Thy servant this mornin' de eye of de eagle and de wisdom of de owl; connect his soul with de gospel telephone in de central skies; luminate his brow with de sun of heaben; pizen his mind with love for the people; turpentine his imagination; grease his lips with 'possum oil; loosen his tongue with de sledge hammer of Thy power; 'lectrify his brain with de lightin' of de word; put 'petual motion in his ahms; fill him plum full of the dynamite of Thy glory; 'noint him all over with de kerosene oil of Thy salvation, and sot him on fire.—Amen!

William Pickens (*American Aesop*, pp. 13-14) tells of a Negro preacher in Coosa County, Alabama, who gave the following explanation of volcanic disturbances:

Sisters and brothers, yer see, in de beginnin' de Lord made de earth roun'. Now, when a thing is made roun', it's made to go roun' and roun'. An' so de Good Lord made two poles on each side uv dis roun' body, den run an axle thoo from pole to pole. An' de thing wuz to turn on dis axle. Now, yer know, when anything turns on a axle, it needs greasin' now an' den, to make it go smooovely. Well, de Good Lord took pains to put a lot uv oils uv diff'rent varieties into de rocks an' bowels uv de earth, so dat de thing might be sorter self-lubricatin' as it ran. But attar while dere come erlong dis here Rockfyeller, an' some other fellers, an' pumped all de oil out,—an' de thing's been runnin' a hot box eber since. Hence dem volcaynies!

One Negro minister preached on Luke 8:30, concerning a certain man who told Jesus that his name was Legion because many devils had entered into him. The preacher confused the term "legion" with "'ligion" (religion), and his sermon was a tirade against the congregation for saying that they had 'ligion instead of religion—the term 'ligion meaning that they had ten thousand demons in them, while the term religion ("re," according to him, meaning "out of") meant that the demons had all been driven out and that the person's salvation was assured. According to Puckett (*Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro*, pp. 534, 535), who reported this sermon, an ignorant Negro minister will sometimes openly boast of "not having rubbed his head against the college walls," whereupon the congregation will respond "Amen." Lack of education in such instances is regarded as an advantage, being genuine proof that the message comes directly from the Lord himself. It matters not that the minister is illiterate so long as he can play upon the feelings and think with the tongue. Preachers who cannot read nevertheless "quote Scripture": "De Scripture sez ebb'y tub mus' stan' on hit's own bottom"; "De Scripture sez a slipperance uv de tongue ain' no strain on de backbone." One Negro preacher announced his text to be from "de two-eyed chapter of de one-eyed John," meaning the second chapter of first John. One illiterate preacher, to make an impression on his congregation, gave as his text, "*Hic et ibi*." They did not know what it meant; neither did he; but they did

not know that he did not know. Another Negro divine prayed, "An' oh, good Lord, deliver us frum de *status quo*, meanin' de mess we's in."

It is usually not until the age of puberty that the plantation Negro experiences the full sway of religious feeling and joins the church. At this time, to use the Negro's characteristic language, he "comes through." The process of "coming through" generally starts at a revival where the atmosphere is intense with fervid excitement. The young candidate is thoroughly wrought up through the physiological effects of the repeated rhythm. He is then called to the mourners' bench (sometimes not inappropriately nicknamed the "moaners'" bench—a series of benches in front, generally arranged in the shape of a square, with the side toward the pulpit open. The trip to the bench is sometimes preceded by a series of shouts or a fainting spell. There is generally a period of a month or two between the mourners' bench and baptism, during which time religion is dominant in the mind of the Negro. Frequently he sees visions, which he literally believes. During the service someone in the congregation may offer a fervent personal prayer aimed at individual mourners, throwing the pitiless light of truth on their sins. Puckett (p. 536) cites this illustration:

Oh Lawd (pray, sistah, pray)—dere's ole High-pocket Tony (Lawd, Lawd, he'p him)—shootin' craps all de time (hab mussy, Lawd)—playin' baseball when he oughter be hearin' Thy Word (hab mussy, Lawd)—lyin' an' cussin' (pray on, sistah)—bring him to us, Lawd, *pleeze* we ax Thee, Lawd, bring him to us (amen, Lawd, amen). . . .

The following is a description by Howard Snyder of a Mississippi revival service at its height:

Now the frenzy is becoming intoxicating, the preachers thunder on, the congregation in wild tones sings on and cries on, while the deacons and all those not singing shout out their praises to God. Sudden as a flash of lightning a girl leaps straight into the air and shrieks like a doomed soul. Straight down the aisle she dances, shrieking and wailing in a most uncanny voice. She has found God. She goes off into a swoon, and they "lay her out on the platform." Six or eight follow her down the aisle with extraordinary rapidity, topple over, and are also laid out on the platform. Excitement runs high! Children are crying, women wailing, the lost sinners screaming, the preachers bel-

lowing like maniacs, and the congregation singing in thunderous tones. . . .

To a Mississippi Negro the revival service is full of awful mystery, of intoxicating passion, of excruciating pain, of supernatural joy, of dire and occult communion with the Invisible. Strangely different were my feelings when the idea of grotesqueness had passed. The fire and throb the worshippers put into their song, the enthusiasm and terror the parson stirs in the congregation, the swaying of the bodies, the dull beat on the floor, the intense excitement that hangs in the air, the flaming colors, the weeping and laughing, the moaning and fluttering—all these give an impression of the tremendous energy and earnestness of these plantation people.

Charles S. Johnson in *Shadow of the Plantation* (pp. 153-162) describes a similar scene.

The old-fashioned Negro preacher has been gradually losing his prestige, and the shouting, highly emotional sermon is rapidly on the wane. The intellectual advance of the Negro, his growing concern with practical matters, and his increasing urbanization have been important factors in this change. The sophisticated urban Negro churches have discarded the older patterns such as emotionalism in worship, emphasis upon individual salvation, and popular elements of show. Shouting is disparaged as indecorous, as is the practice of wheedling out pennies for the contribution plate by the auctionlike methods of the Southern rural churches. For the pastors, moral behavior, education, and refinement are standards more important than "inspiration" and "evidences of divine grace."

THE CHURCH AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

The Negro church, North or South, rural or urban, has been and continues to be the outstanding social institution in the Negro community and the most characteristic expression of Negro genius. It is the only institution, aside from the colored press, that the Negro controls. It is more than a religious organization: it is also a social order and an educational and welfare agency. The apparent overemphasis by the American Negro in the religious sphere is related to his comparatively meager participation in other institutional forms of American culture. Denied the opportunity enjoyed by members of other racial groups in civic

and political affairs, in business enterprises, and in recreational and intellectual activities, the Negro through the years has turned to the church for self-expression, recognition, and leadership. The opportunity found there has stimulated the pride, developed the innate ability, and preserved the self-respect of Negroes who might otherwise have been submerged in despair and futility.

Among rural Negroes the church is still the only institution which provides an effective organization of the group, an approved place for social activities, a forum, an outlet for emotional repressions, and a design for social living. Although it has not kept pace with the general culture and has insisted on outmoded behavior codes while its own ministry has engaged in censorable behavior, the social role of the church is still dominant, even for the younger generation. "Although they may not 'get saved,' or believe in the sermons, or take the pastor seriously," says Johnson in *Growing Up in the Black Belt* (p. 156), "and although they frequently look down upon the shouting, the church still provides them with most of their social contacts and approved entertainment. It is still the pivot of social life for Negroes as a group and for youth in particular."

So, too, the urban Negro church is a complex institution meeting a wide variety of needs. In New York, for example, as reported by James Weldon Johnson (*Black Manhattan*, pp. 165-166),

. . . most of the large Harlem churches open early on Sunday morning and remain open until ten or eleven o'clock at night; and there is not an hour during that time when any one of them is empty. A good many people stay in church all day; there they take their dinner, cooked and served hot by a special committee. Aside from any spiritual benefits derived, going to church means being dressed in one's best clothes, forgetting for the time about work, having the chance to acquit oneself with credit before one's fellows, and having the opportunity of meeting, talking, and laughing with friends and of casting an appraising and approving eye upon the opposite sex. Going to church is an outlet for the Negro's religious emotions; but not the least reason why he is willing to support so many churches is that they furnish so many agreeable activities and so much real enjoyment. He is willing to support them because he has not yet, and will not have until there is far greater economic and intellectual development and social organization, any other agencies that can fill their place.

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CHAPTER 8

THE NEGRO PRESS

It is generally agreed, as John H. Burma (p. 172) states, that "the two most important and influential agencies for social control, for racial solidarity, and for molding public opinion within the Negro group are the church and the press." These are also the only institutions that the Negro controls. Ottley (p. 12) maintains that the press alone is without any direct "white" influence whatsoever in the formulation of its policies and hence speaks most definitively on racial questions.

Why a separate Negro press? The prime reason for the existence of Negro newspapers lies in the segregation and discrimination which characterize the Negro's existence in America. The Negro press, as Johnson (p. 314) points out, serves as a direct weapon of attack on segregation and discrimination and as a medium through which individual Negroes can relieve their aggressive feelings both through reading it and through contributing to it. Moreover, the white press ignores the Negro pretty generally, except in stories of crime, and the Negro press thus became a necessity to its readers as a purveyor of news about their own group. The Negro press also arose out of the need for racial leadership, and its success has been due to its adherence to a strictly racial policy. It is interested only in news that has racial significance. It conceives its first function to be that of promoting the welfare of Negroes and of fighting their battles. Without doubt, it is the most race-conscious agency in Negro life.

The Negro press was born as an organ of protest. The first Negro newspaper published in the United States was *Freedom's Journal*, edited by John B. Russwurm, the first Negro to receive a college degree. It appeared in New York in 1827, four years before Garrison's *Liberator*, and at the moment when the abolitionists were beginning to gather forces for an assault on slavery. Its purpose was the freedom of the slaves, and it went so far as to call upon the slaves of the South to revolt. Between 1827 and

the Civil War there were 24 Negro periodicals, many of which existed for only a short time. All of them came into being as a protest against slavery. The most famous of these journals was the *North Star*, established in 1847 by Frederick Douglass, the great Negro abolitionist. Renamed *Frederick Douglass's Paper*, it was published by him until emancipation. The oldest Negro newspaper in the United States is the *Christian Recorder*, organ of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, begun in 1848.

In 1870 there were only about 10 Negro journals in America; in 1880 there were 31; and in 1890 there were 154, according to the Negro editor, Irvine Garland Penn, who in 1891 wrote a history of the Negro press in which he recounted its service to the Negro community. By 1945, according to the U.S. Bureau of the Census, there were 155 Negro general newspapers. The combined average net circulation of 137 newspapers bearing a price was 1,809,060, about one-half of which was accounted for by the 20 Negro newspapers whose circulations were certified by the Audit Bureau of Circulations. The Negro newspapers (like the white press) have been decreasing in numbers but growing in size. These Negro general newspapers are published in the majority of the larger cities and in 32 states plus the District of Columbia (all the Southern and border states except Delaware, 14 Northern states and 3 Western). From these states they circulate to all other states, a number of the larger papers claiming over half of their circulation to be out of state. In 1945 there were 14 Negro-operated news-gathering agencies, the most important one, which served most of the Negro newspapers, being the Associated Negro Press. The largest and most influential Negro newspapers are the *Pittsburgh Courier*, the Baltimore *Afro-American*, the *Chicago Defender*, the New York *Amsterdam News*, and the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*.

Negro general newspapers are all weeklies, with the sole exception of the *Atlanta Daily World*. They are conducted more commonly by individual proprietorships than by corporations. Forty-six of them are represented in the National Negro Newspaper Publishers Association. According to Myrdal (pp. 920-921), the Negro press is primarily controlled by the active members of the upper and middle classes of the Negro community. "Indeed, the Negro newspapers are one of the chief agencies for the Negro

upper class to spread its opinions among the lower classes of the Negro community."

In addition to the newspapers appealing to the general Negro public, there are probably several hundred religious, fraternal, literary, professional, and labor journals, school and college publications, and magazines of various types. The combined average net circulation of 85 Negro periodicals which reported to the Bureau of the Census in 1945 was 749,025. Leading Negro periodicals include two nationally important magazines: *The Crisis*, official mouthpiece of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and *Opportunity*, organ of the National Urban League (the latter suspended publication on Dec. 31, 1948). Important quarterlies are *The Journal of Negro History*, *The Journal of Negro Education*, and *Phylon*. Perhaps most popular of Negro magazines currently appearing on newsstands are the *Negro Digest*, patterned after *The Reader's Digest*, and *Ebony*, patterned after *Life* magazine.

Besides being an organ of protest, the Negro newspaper is distinguished by its supplementary character. As Burma (p. 175) describes it, "It does not attempt to tell all the news. It deals with the problems, triumphs, and prospects of being a Negro in America—no more. As such, it complements rather than competes with the white press." The fact that with one exception all Negro papers are weeklies adds to their supplemental character. Partly because of this characteristic, the Negro newspaper is much more a journal of opinion than is the white newspaper. This tendency is intensified by the highly competitive nature of the Negro press, viewed nationally. Those papers which push for national circulation have a limited supply of news, much of which is available to all competing papers and to the daily press. The special appeal of these papers must be based upon some derived or secondary element of newspaper editing, that is, opinion. Unlike the white press, Negro papers derive their support principally from their subscribers, not from advertisers; hence, the vigorous editorials and the abundance of viewpoints presented by columnists. "The Negro press is particularly prolific as to columnists, producing them of every shade of opinion, from all walks of life, of a great variety of styles, and of various races" (Burma, p. 176). Each of the major Negro newspapers has no fewer than six regular columnists who discuss matters of contemporary interest. The

Negro press is well aware of its significant position as a molder of racial opinion.

The fact that the Negro paper is an "additional" paper to the daily white press accounts in part for its sensational character. Negro newspapers generally are patterned after the more sensational white papers, such as the Hearst publications and the *Chicago Tribune*, except that they select and play up items with a race angle. They are similar to ordinary American newspapers which circulate among the lower socio-economic classes. If the Negro press appears to exaggerate the American pattern of sensational journalism, it is because the Negro community, as compared with the white world, is so predominantly lower class (Myrdal, p. 917). Negro newspapers usually carry big striking headlines, especially on page one, and are copiously illustrated. They devote much space to crime and other startling events; also to sports, recreation, columnist opinion, biography, and society, always with an abundance of names being quoted. One of their striking characteristics, which is also, according to Sancton (p. 559), their fundamental weakness, is their strong tendency to overcompensate. "Where Negro achievement is slighted in the white press, it is often overpraised in the race press. Negro crime is apt to be given subjective and apologetic treatment." Few features in the Negro press, says Myrdal (pp. 918-919), seem more ridiculous to the ordinary white American than the display of Negro society. The society page of the Negro newspaper is a direct copy of that of the white paper, especially the small-city white newspaper.

Whites are amused by it partly because of their belief in the inferiority of the Negro but also partly because they are seldom aware of the existence of a Negro upper class, especially one so attentive to the social niceties. Most upper and middle class Negroes "over-do" their social activity because they are struggling for status as individuals. Social mobility is great. Negroes stress "society" because whites deny them social prestige.

Advertisements consume relatively less space than in the white press, and they are reminiscent of those in the general papers of the 1880's and 1890's, before advertising developed into a competitive art. As measured by column inches, the most important advertisements refer to hair and skin preparations, medicine, food,

entertainment, and magic. Like the news items, they are frequently illustrated. The Negro Newspaper Publishers Association, at its annual meeting in 1948, complained that the Negro press had too long been subjected to an objectionable type of advertising, namely, "hair preparations, lucky charms, doubtful medical cures and seers," and asked for a greater share of advertisements of national brands and public utilities. White stores have hesitated to advertise in a Negro paper for fear they will be called Negro stores. On the other hand, there is a growing recognition on the part of local and national advertisers of the increasing importance of the Negro market, including the purchasing power of Negro house servants in white homes who act as buyers or otherwise influence white purchases. Consequently, advertising in the Negro press is slowly taking on the white pattern.

In other respects as well, the Negro press is approaching the professional standard of the white newspaper. Especially is this the case with the more conservative papers such as the *Los Angeles Tribune* and the *Norfolk Journal and Guide*. The Negro Newspaper Publishers Association, organized in Chicago in 1940, with a membership in 1945 of 46 publishers, has inaugurated a program to improve and promote the Negro press as well as to increase the status of the Negro. The association has been effective in developing a more efficient and responsible news service and has come to enjoy a strategic position with reference to Negro affairs. It was instrumental in having an accredited Negro newsman admitted to the White House press conference, beginning in 1944. Since 1947 Negro writers have been admitted to the Senate Press Gallery. Among other indices of increasing maturity of the Negro press, according to V. V. Oak (p. 5), are

... the organization of press and syndicate services; the printing of national and local editions; an emergent use of color presses by the more opulent weeklies; the appearance of strong newspaper chains; the growing patronage of white business enterprises evidenced by a larger number of "ads" from this source; the creation of extensive promotional activities among both their colored carriers and the Negro public; and the increasing space that is allotted to foreign news that affects the fate of all the colored peoples of the world.

Another interesting development is the employment of Negro reporters on white papers. Such instances, of recent occurrence,

include the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, the *New York Post Home News*, the *New York Herald Tribune*, and *The New York Times*, and the magazine *Life*. A weekly column by a Negro, Walter White, is syndicated in eight white dailies. There are also a few white newsmen working on Negro papers.

The Negro press, as we have seen, has always been a fighting or crusading press. At present, states Burma (p. 173), the Negro press is "first an organ of Negro protest and militancy and second a purveyor of Negro news." According to a survey by *Fortune* magazine, two-thirds of the front-page stories deal with Negro-white relations, one-third with strictly Negro news. The attitude range is from near appeasement of whites to proof that whites are no better than their Negro neighbors. The Negro press appears to emphasize, in order, racial discrimination or clashes, progress in race relations, Negro achievements, interracial movements, and miscellaneous items. In short, the main themes are discrimination and achievement: (1) wrongs done to the Negro and his fight against them and (2) accomplishments by the Negro. These absorb 90 per cent of all news, editorials, and features in the entire Negro newspaper. This characteristic of the Negro press has been forthrightly expressed by P. L. Prattis (pp. 273, 275, 281-282), executive editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, as follows:

The chief function of the Negro newspaper, along with other forces in Negro life, is to fight for first-class citizenship and full opportunity for growth for Negroes. . . . It fights against the restrictions imposed upon Negro citizens by other Americans of the dominant majority. In general, it is against this dominant majority that it levels its attacks. It is an instrument of the embattled minority in action against the repressive majority. In that restricted sense, so far as the Negro press and its primary function are concerned, the nation is divided into two groups, a majority group and a minority group, and the Negro press is a device specially fashioned for the use of the minority group in its battle for survival and status against the majority group. . . .

The Negro press is seriously engaged in the job of stimulating Negro achievement, increasing the Negro's pride in himself and respect for himself, and cultivating within him the desire and the willingness to shake hands and work with the other fellow. The Negro press believes this can best be done by helping the Negro to keep his head lifted high, by helping to dispel and destroy all notions that he is an inferior of any kind, by encouragement of his virtues and talents and criticism of his vices, by continuous assault on all artificial

barriers which separate white from black, Jew from Gentile, or any kind of American from any other kind of American, and through recognition and appreciation of what all Americans, regardless of race or religion, do to advance the cause of common brotherhood and humanity.

The existence of the Negro press is a testimony of Negro unrest. At the same time it tends to magnify that unrest and to increase race consciousness. In fact, since Negro newspapers thrive upon the injustice under which Negroes suffer, it is not going too far to say, as Frazier (p. 75) suggests, that they have a vested interest in segregation and discrimination. If Negroes were fully integrated into American society, a separate Negro press would not exist. Nor as general newspapers could they compete with the white dailies. This is the reason why they are and will remain primarily weeklies and why they specialize almost exclusively in Negro news. Here they experience but minor and indirect competition from a few regular liberal newspapers and from the provision of some Negro news (but no Negro protest) in the so-called "black star" editions of several Southern newspapers—special editions with a page or more devoted to Negro activities, which are sold in the Negro community and are never seen in the white section of the city.

The news coverage by the Negro press is not merely of the local community but of the whole Negro world in America and to some extent outside of America. This tends to create a feeling of race consciousness, of strength and solidarity. Myrdal says (p. 911),

The press, more than any other institution, has created the Negro group as a social and psychological reality to the individual Negro. . . . For this reason the Negro press is far more than a mere expression of the Negro protest. . . . The press is also the chief agency of group control. It tells the individual how he should think and feel as an American Negro and creates a tremendous power of suggestion by implying that all other Negroes think and feel in this manner.

Sometimes the press directly undertakes to control Negro behavior. For example, the *Pittsburgh Courier* and the *Chicago Defender* have conducted better conduct campaigns, lecturing Negroes on their foibles and shortcomings, such as loud clothes, loose personal habits, and laxness at work. In a large measure the

press has replaced the Negro ministry as an important regulatory body.

Despite this effort of Negro writers to arm their people with the tools of morality and dignity and despite the fact that much of the criticism leveled at white affairs by the Negro press is justified, Thomas Sancton (p. 560) holds that the Negro press tends to create a chauvinistic racism among the Negro people and a feeling of subjective bitterness toward all whites. This liberal white Southerner calls for a more objective program of action, "a sound and workable attitude toward the white majority, particularly toward the Southern white people." On the other hand, the accusation that the Negro press increases ill will among the races has been answered by P. L. Prattis (as quoted in *Race Relations*, August-September 1946, p. 26) as follows:

The Negro newspaper helps the cause of race relations in four ways: (1) by providing a release for pent-up bitterness and aggression felt by Negroes; (2) by a determined attack upon the caste structure and upon segregation, which are in the long run the real barriers to good race relations; (3) by stimulating Negro achievement, increasing their self-respect, encouraging virtues and criticizing vices; and (4) more recently, by featuring constructive cooperative activities of Negroes and whites.

To attain its goal of eliminating race discrimination the Negro press must avoid an attitude of uncompromising belligerency that antagonizes whites, such as characterized it during the period of the Second World War, for the cooperation of the whites is essential. There is evidence that the editorial policy of the Negro press is becoming more restrained and responsible. At the same time, the Negro press, as long as it exists, will continue to fight for the rights of the Negro. It is this policy which makes the Negro press one of the most powerful forces within the Negro community and one of the most important agencies in American race relations.

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CHAPTER 9

THE NEGRO FAMILY

Except in the case of the free Negroes, who were themselves under considerable social and economic handicap, the Negro family as a stable and legal institution began only with emancipation. The developed family organization of the Africans was practically destroyed by slavery. To be sure there were cases of slave unions, but they existed only at the discretion of the master; legal marriage the slaves could not enjoy, nor had the parents any legal rights over their children. Once released from the limitations of slavery, marriage and the family among the American Negroes have tended to conform to the pattern of the dominant white culture. Though there is still a considerable degree of looseness and disorganization, these are incidental to transition and growth. The trend has definitely been toward the development of a stable institution, and the changing status of the Negro family is a measure of the Negro's acculturation.

THE MATERNAL TYPE OF FAMILY

According to E. Franklin Frazier, who has made the most complete study of the Negro family in the United States, four fairly distinct types of family life may be discerned among the Negroes. The first is the maternal family pattern, to be found in its purest and most primitive form in the rural South. In this type of family organization the mother is the head of the family, the dominant and most stable element, and its chief economic support; the father not only plays a subordinate role but frequently is not even present. Many of these families owe their origin to illegitimacy. The maternal family is a heritage from slavery, though it may derive in part from the African background of polygyny in which the attachments between a mother and her child are in the main closer than those between father and children and in which the responsibilities of rearing, discipline, and supervision are much more the province of the mother than of the father. It has the natural base

of the attachment of mother and child, to which the family organization reverts where there is no legal marriage or where illegitimacy exists. Only the bond between the mother and her child could effectively resist the disruptive effects of slavery on family life.

Under all conditions of slavery the mother remained the most dependable and important figure in the Negro family. Frequently she enjoyed a status superior to that of the man. More women than men were house slaves, which placed them in a preferred position both for prestige and for training. Children, whether by white or Negro fathers, took the status of their mothers and were reared by them. In many cases the children did not know who their fathers were; when the father did live with the family, he usually possessed little authority. In the plantation domestic establishment, as Guion Johnson has demonstrated, the woman was supreme. The planters helped to make of her the dominant sex by the position they gave her in the plantation regime. The cabin was hers. The weekly rations of corn and salt pork were issued to her, and she cooked the meals. She tended the patch back of the cabin and also frequently raised chickens and pigs to supplement the rations. If she had surplus vegetables or poultry to sell, the money was hers to use for the family. She made the family clothes, unless a seamstress performed this function for the whole plantation. The children were listed on the plantation records as belonging to her. Seldom was the father's name indicated. She had the privilege of naming the children and the responsibility for their care and discipline. The man's function under slave management was field work and service. Around the house he was an appendage. In fact, so dependent upon the women were the men of the plantation that they regarded freedom from female domination as one of the gains from emancipation. After Reconstruction the significant change in family life was the elevated status of the husband.

Among lower class families today a pattern similar to that of the slavery period persists, particularly in the South. It is due not only to the play of traditional mores but to the relative economic position of men and women today. Especially in towns and villages, Negro women are better able to secure work than are Negro men. The majority of Negro workers are in domestic service and in unskilled labor. Although jobs for men are increas-

ingly closed to Negroes, the colored woman still maintains a monopoly of domestic-service positions in the South. These jobs are poorly paid, but they bring in more money than the odd jobs upon which the man must frequently depend. Negro lower class women always hold the purse strings. Ill paid and irregularly employed, the masses of Negro men have not succeeded in becoming steady providers for their families. In the country, also, Negro women are actually or potentially economically independent. Their earning power is not much less than that of men. Children on the farm are also an economic asset; as early as five or six years of age they can be used as field hands at seeding or picking cotton. Says Johnson in *Growing Up in the Black Belt* (p. 59):

The "independence" of Negro women is complemented by "irresponsibility" in the men. The man knows his family will get along without him. When deserted, the woman makes no attempt to force the man to support her or his children. Legal recourse is expensive and violates community mores; the social stigma upon the man who neglects his family is not pronounced.

The women are also the more stable element in the rural areas since migration has been much larger on the part of the men. It is reported that more colored women than men in the South take out insurance and that often a woman takes it for the man as well as for her children. That men seem to think it is the woman's job to secure and sustain the policy is in keeping with her superior and steadier earning power and with the matriarchal nature of the Negro family. The significance of the role of the woman is also indicated by the Negro expression of referring to a relative as "on the sure [mother's] side."

The maternal type of family as it exists in the South is well described in Powdermaker's study in Mississippi (*After Freedom*, pp. 145-146):

Among the middle and lower class Negroes in Cottonville, the woman is usually the head of the house in importance and authority and is frequently the chief economic support. Even where husband and wife share responsibility for maintaining and directing the family, the woman is likely to contribute the larger share of the income and to assume the larger share of family responsibility. The economic disparity is most evident in town, where employment is so much more available to the women than to the men. The matriarchal nature of

the family organization obtains equally on the plantations. In many cases the woman is the sole breadwinner. Often there is no man in the household at all. In a number of instances, elderly women in their seventies and their middle-aged daughters, with or without children and often without husbands, form one household with the old woman as the head.

Households where grandmothers rule their daughters and grandchildren with matriarchal authority are to be found in the rural sections, especially on the remnants of the old plantations. The Negro grandmother's importance is due not only to the fact that she is the oldest head in a maternal family organization but also to her position as "gran'my" or midwife among a simple peasant folk—the repository of folk wisdom.

The personnel of these matriarchal families is variable and even casual. Stepchildren, illegitimate children, adopted children mingle with the children of the house. No matter how small or how crowded the home is, there is always room for a stray child, an elderly grandmother, an indigent aunt, a homeless friend. Thus the household exceeds the family, and the family itself is elastic, in contrast to the more rigid and patriarchal family organization of the whites.

It is difficult to get a precise measure of the extent of these maternal households in the Negro population. On the average, colored households are somewhat larger than white households in all regions. The census also reports a larger proportion of families with women heads among Negroes than among whites in both rural and urban areas. In nearly one out of four Negro families in the United States a woman is the head, in contrast to one out of seven among the whites. The proportion of Negro families under the authority of the woman appears to be larger in cities than in rural areas. In the rural-nonfarm areas of Southern states, from 15 to 25 per cent of the Negro families are without male heads, while in the rural-farm areas the proportion ranges from 3 to 15 per cent. Despite the fact that rural areas show a smaller proportion of families with women heads, it is in the rural areas of the South that the maternal family functions in its most primitive form as a natural organization.

ILLEGITIMACY

The rural family organization, as indicated above, is tied up with widespread illegitimacy. In Southern rural communities illegitimacy is generally a harmless affair, not disruptive of the family organization. Indeed it seems to be a folk practice involving no violation of the mores. The unmarried mother does not lose status perceptibly nor are her chances for marrying seriously threatened. "An incidental compensation for this lack of a censoring public opinion," writes Johnson (*Shadow of the Plantation*, p. 49), "is the freedom for children thus born from warping condemnation. There is, in a sense, no such thing as illegitimacy in this community."

Although records of illegitimacy are notoriously inadequate, reliable estimates indicate that from 10 to 20 per cent of the Negro children in rural communities are born out of wedlock. In the relatively isolated and stable Negro population on St. Helena Island, 30 per cent of the births are illegitimate. In urban areas illegitimacy rates among Negroes are generally even higher. In the Birth Registration Area of the United States about 15 per cent of the recorded Negro births are illegitimate. The rate is from five to ten times as high as among whites.

It is not surprising that a people whose original family organization and rigidly enforced sex controls were practically destroyed by slavery should show in but two or three generations of freedom many marks of the past in sexual irregularity. Free sex practice among the slaves was tolerated by the masters, and this traditional attitude still survives in the white attitude toward the sex behavior of the Negro so long as this behavior does not affect or threaten to affect the white world. The rural Negroes have had little real opportunity for the development of rigid sex regulations in terms of the dominant white culture. The social and economic subordination of the Negro has also been a factor in the prevalence of illegitimacy. Some of the illegitimate offspring are due to the association between white men and colored women; this is more frequently the case in the small towns of the South than in the isolated rural regions. Although there are indications that these relations are not as widespread now as they were during slavery, they are still responsible for some of the burden which the unmarried Negro mother must bear.

The relatively harmless character of illegitimacy in rural communities becomes lost as these simple peasant folk move to cities. Divorced from the folkways of rural life, it becomes part of the general disorganization of the family, especially in the midst of the poverty and maladjustment of city slums. In urban areas where property rights, inheritance, economic insecurity, child-labor laws, compulsory education, and the like are more important factors than in rural areas, illegitimacy has a more disorganizing effect on the family and the social life of the group. Most of the problem of illegitimacy among Negroes in cities concerns these recent migrants. In the course of migration to the city family ties become broken, and restraints on sex conduct lose their force. Especially is this true in the poorer sections of the Negro community located in the slum areas of our cities.

Though sexual promiscuity is still common in the lower classes, the trend has definitely been toward greater regulation. A marked change has occurred in sex mores since slavery. Irregular sex behavior is not regarded by Negro youth today with the complacency typical of older generations. As the Negro advances economically and educationally, as he becomes adjusted to the city environment, and as higher social classes emerge, sex standards become stricter and family organization more stable.

OTHER TYPES OF FAMILY ORGANIZATION

The second type of family organization among Negroes, according to Frazier, is that which shows many of the characteristics of the traditional pattern of the whites, the type toward which the Negro family in general is developing. This process is marked by the increasing consolidation of the father's interest with the common interests of the family group of which he is the recognized head. In some instances this type of family goes back to slavery days where conditions were favorable to stable family life and where the father's position in the family was recognized by the master and sanctioned by the church. Under such circumstances the transition from slavery to freedom did not result in a breakdown of family relations. In fact, the family was strengthened when the father began working as a free man, and his authority became undisputed. It was chiefly through the acquisition of property that his interest became established on a permanent basis.

The third type of family pattern derives from the free Negroes

and hence is sharply differentiated in regard to social heritage from the great mass of the Negro population. It was among the nearly half-million Negroes who were free before the Civil War that the family was first established upon an institutional basis. A large proportion of these families were of mixed blood, and in some instances they inherited wealth from their white ancestors; generally they showed the advantages of educational opportunities and white contacts. These families were as a rule patriarchal in organization. In some instances the man's original interest and ascendancy in the family was due to the fact that he purchased his wife and children. In the upper class of Negroes today, furthest from slavery and closest to white modes of behavior, the patriarchal family structure predominates with the man assuming chief economic responsibility and also chief authority.

The fourth class of families is represented by persons of Negro, white, and Indian ancestry living in isolated communities away from the main currents of Negro life. Communities of this type may be found in Alabama, North Carolina, Ohio, New Jersey, and New York—all displaying the clannishness of an isolated group. The family organization is sternly patriarchal and is usually closely tied up with the religious organization of the community.

FAMILY ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL CLASS

It is evident in the above analysis that the type of family organization among Negroes bears a close relationship to socio-economic class structure. Among the upper class, family life is most stable and sex morality most strict. This group, proportionately small, is also differentiated from the great mass of the population by its degree of home ownership and general cultural attainments. A large proportion of such established families were of mulatto origin and took considerable pride in their white ancestry. Many of these families originated amongst free Negroes or the house-servant class and were advantageously situated to assimilate the culture of the whites. In the South, these families took over patterns of behavior which were associated with the ideal of the Southern lady and Southern gentleman, though lacking the necessary economic basis. This led to habits of consumption that appeared improvident if not ludicrous.

Their ascendancy was challenged by the new economic classes emerging as a result of increasing occupational differentiation and

urbanization of the Negroes. A Negro middle class engaged in business enterprises, white-collar occupations, professional pursuits, and in public service has come into existence. Though it exhibits a variety of patterns of behavior, it has sloughed off much of the tradition of the mulatto families as well as the folk culture of the masses and is creating a stable family and community life. It places great emphasis on education and home ownership, often to the point of conspicuous consumption. This is the group mentioned in an earlier connection as the most race-conscious element among the Negroes, whose attitude is bound up with their desire to monopolize the Negro market.

Among the great mass of lower class Negroes, composed of agricultural and industrial laborers and domestic and personal servants, the maternal type of family is still most prevalent, and the woman naturally occupies a dominant position. Even in families where the man is present, the wife continues to contribute to the family support and to occupy a position of authority. In an increasing number of cases, however, especially as the Negro enters industrial work and advances in skill, he assumes responsibility for the support of his family, even to the point of enabling the wife to remain at home, and acquires a new authority in family relations. In fact, among some classes of black workers whose wives are restricted to the home, masculine authority is harsh or even brutal. Although lower class Negro families still exhibit much illegitimacy and lax sex behavior, considerable conflict and violence and show the disruptive effects on family life of poverty, child labor, and employment of mothers, they are aspiring to the conventional pattern.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

Marriage practices among Negroes, especially in the South, fall into several types, which are also related to the class structure. There are three ways in which a man and woman may live together: licensed marriage, solemnized by a ceremony, usually in a church; common-law marriage; and temporary association not regarded as marriage—like the practice of “taking up with” a person of the opposite sex under slavery. For the majority of households the form is common-law marriage, which is legally valid in many states both North and South. It is an unlicensed and unrecorded type of marriage. Among the Southern Negroes, tempo-

rary matings are probably more numerous than licensed marriages. Most of the latter are in the upper class, most of the former in the lower class. All three varieties are found in the middle class, the common-law marriage being the most frequent.

Thus the white pattern of licensed marriage has been accepted in different degrees by different classes. This type of marriage has come to be regarded as an index of status. The general advancement of the Negroes and particularly their increasing acquisition of property are leading to increasing adoption of legal marriage and more permanent relationships. The increasing amount of life insurance policies among Negroes is also leading to increased insistence upon legal marriage so as to avoid confusion in regard to beneficiaries.

Like permanence in marriage ties, legalized divorce is characteristic mainly of the upper class. In the others, the marriage bond is broken as unceremoniously as it is tied. Divorce proceedings are rare, because they are expensive and involve dealings with a white court, which no Negro chooses if he can avoid it. In the South a legal divorce becomes something more than a luxury; it savors of pretentiousness and extravagance. In the country as a whole, the proportion of divorced persons among Negroes does not differ significantly from that among whites. Divorce among Negroes is increasing. Although in some instances it marks family disorganization, in others it is indicative of a growing recognition of the institutional and legal character of marriage.

As divorce is rare, so separations are frequent. According to both the U.S. Census of 1940 and the sample estimates of 1947, the proportion of persons who were married but living apart from their spouses was about three times as large among nonwhites (largely Negro) as among whites. Most commonly it is the man who is the absent party. Migration, employment of the husband in a location remote from the wife, commitment to an institution, and permanent separation are among the reasons for living apart. Many of the cases of Negro families with women heads are due to desertion on the part of the men; widowhood, divorce, and legal separation could hardly account for such a large proportion. Desertion, commonly called the poor man's divorce, is more frequent in Negro families than in white. It is often found in conjunction with unregulated sex behavior and disorganized family life. In the cities particularly, it is associated with family and community

disorganization. Persons with marriages broken by widowhood are more common, proportionately, among Negroes than among whites, though the difference is less marked than in the case of separations. The higher rate of widowhood reflects the less favorable mortality situation among Negroes, especially Negro males.

STATUS OF THE NEGRO FAMILY

Negroes have a greater proportion of large families (six or more persons) than has the white population. Large families in either race, however, are not numerous. On the other hand, Negroes have a larger proportion of small families consisting of one or two persons. The median size of the family among Negroes, contrary to popular impression, is somewhat smaller than it is among whites. This situation is associated with the higher Negro mortality and probably also with less complete census enumeration of the Negro population. The practice of birth control appears to be much less frequent among Negroes than among whites though the need for it is indicated in the high proportion of cases of poverty and disease.

We have already noted the fact that a much larger proportion of Negro than white women are gainfully employed. This takes the mother out of the home and deprives the children of her care and training. Moreover, the economic independence of the woman in such cases is often accompanied by lack of responsibility on the part of the husband and father. The fact that among lower class Negroes the woman has always been able to make a better living than the man has tended to create in him a laziness and indifference, as a defense against humiliation, and in turn to make her sharp-tongued, bitter, and resentful—a traditional pattern which Drake and Cayton (pp. 582-586) label "dependent men and forceful women." On the other hand, when the lower-class Negro man succeeds in getting a job, he works hard at his heavy unskilled manual tasks. In such a family there is little to aid in developing in the child a disciplined character or to awaken his ambition to reach socially approved goals. One must turn to the smaller group of middle or upper class families to find much stabilizing and developing influence. Such families, with an assured income, are able to make long-range plans for their children. They tend to place their hopes for advancement in the chil-

dren and to stress the importance of "a good education" as essential to success.

The migration of large numbers of Negroes to the cities has rendered it difficult even for Negro families with traditions of stability to remain immune to the unfavorable conditions that tend to destroy normal and healthy human relationships. More than any other segment of the population, as we shall see, Negroes are affected by substandard housing, unsanitary surroundings, inadequate recreational facilities, and similar conditions that put a strain on family life, lower vitality, and contribute to crime and delinquency. The development and strengthening of the family institution are basic to further Negro advancement.

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CHAPTER 10

HOUSING CONDITIONS AMONG NEGROES

Housing conditions are worse among Negroes than among any other large group in the population. Class by class, compared with the whites, it falls to their lot to live in inferior dwellings in less desirable locations. This condition is not only a result of their poverty but is also due in part to discrimination and exploitation.

CHARACTERISTICS OF NEGRO DWELLINGS

According to the U.S. Census in 1940, of the 3,156,545 Negro dwellings, 719,771 or 22.8 per cent were owned, as compared with a percentage of home ownership for whites of 45.7. Of Negro rural-farm homes, only 21.0 per cent were owned; of urban homes, 19.9 per cent; and of rural-nonfarm, 35.2 per cent. Negro home ownership has increased from 18.7 per cent in 1890. The homes that Negroes own are much lower in value than the homes owned by native whites. In 1930, 39.3 per cent of the Negro nonfarm-owned homes were valued under \$1,000 as compared with but 6.6 per cent of the native white. Practically three-fourths of all such Negro-owned homes were valued under \$3,000 as compared with less than 30 per cent of native-white homes of this valuation. The median value of Negro-owned homes was \$1,341 as contrasted with a median value of \$4,766 for native-white-owned homes. The 1940 Census on housing did not report on value of owned homes but classified them by estimated monthly rental value in a sample study. When these data are translated into values of owned homes, they show higher valuations than in 1930 of both Negro and native-white urban homes but the same discrepancy between the two groups.

A much higher proportion of Negroes than of native whites are tenants. An indication of the inferior quality of Negro rented homes is furnished by the amount of monthly rent, which in urban

areas in 1940 was under \$20 in the case of 71 per cent of nonwhite tenants as contrasted with 32 per cent in the case of white tenants. The median monthly rental of all urban dwellings was \$12.34 for nonwhites and \$28.89 for whites. In a study of dwellings made by Homer Hoyt (p. 71) in 64 cities, a gradation of rent was discovered ranging from blocks occupied exclusively by whites to blocks occupied by a mixture of white and other races to blocks occupied exclusively by nonwhite persons. This gradation revealed qualitative differences of housing. Thus from the first situation to the third the percentage of structures in need of major repairs or unfit for use increased from 12.2 per cent in the case of blocks occupied exclusively by white persons to 50.9 per cent in the case of blocks occupied exclusively by nonwhite races, predominantly Negro. The U.S. Housing Census of 1940 showed that 35 per cent of all homes occupied by Negroes were in need of major repairs as compared with 16 per cent of the units occupied by whites. Almost a third of the urban dwellings occupied by Negroes were without running water as against less than 5 per cent among whites; 13.3 per cent had running water but no private flush toilet as compared with 7.9 per cent for whites. Overcrowding was three times greater in Negro than in white homes.

In the case of the rural Negroes, the great preponderance of whom live in the South, the typical dwelling is a cabin or shack, often one room, rarely more than two or three, overcrowded, poorly ventilated, lacking in conveniences, and unsanitary. There are probably no housing conditions in the United States more primitive than those of the rural Southern Negroes, unless it is among the American Indians. Many of the poor whites live under conditions little if any better. It seems to be typical of the South that the worst overcrowding, the most acute undernourishment, the most unhygienic conditions are to be found in the country rather than in the town.

Though housing conditions are better in the towns and cities, they are distinctly inferior for Negroes as compared with the whites. The typical Negro tenant occupies a two- or three-room house for which he pays an exorbitant rent, frequently higher than what white tenants pay for the same type of accommodation. The Negro section is usually in the less desirable parts of the town and is discriminated against in the sharing of public

utilities. More commonly their streets are unpaved, undrained, unlighted, lacking in sewer connections, inadequately provided with garbage collection and with water and fire protection. As a consequence of such living conditions, coupled with poverty, ignorance, and other factors, the sickness and death rate among Negroes is much higher. Southern whites are coming to realize that the housing and health conditions of the Negroes are of concern to the whole community, for "the plague which begins in the lodge proceeds to the mansion." The sanitary conditions under which Negroes live is of direct moment to the whites employing colored servants. Negroes have often expressed amazement at how white people would hire as servants in their homes or as nurses for their children Negro men and women whom they, knowing under what conditions they lived, would never engage in such capacities.

In the North most of the Negroes live in inferior sections of the city, "on the wrong side of the tracks," in old and deteriorating houses. There is perhaps less differentiation than in Southern cities between residential districts, with the result that the more prosperous, educated, and respectable Negroes must live with the poorer, cruder, and disreputable members of their own race. This is a consequence of segregation imposed by the whites, which is a general pattern in all American cities, though differing somewhat in detail.

RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION AND ITS EFFECTS

Two types of racial separation as regards residence may be found in the South. In certain cities such as Richmond, Negroes are highly concentrated in several large parts of the city besides being lightly scattered in other sections. Frequently a sharp transition occurs between white and nonwhite areas, as for example in Richmond and Norfolk, Virginia; Birmingham, Alabama; and Jackson, Mississippi. On the other hand, in some of the older cities in the deep South, like Charleston, South Carolina, there are few solid racial blocks, the residences of the Negroes being scattered almost at random throughout the city. This situation is due to the large number of servant houses and alley dwellings occupied by Negroes.

In most Northern cities the concentration of Negroes is very marked, though it affects only a small part of the whole urban

area; that is, most of the Negroes are found in a very limited section devoted almost entirely to their own race, and few of them live in districts predominantly white. In large centers of population such as New York and Chicago, this has the effect of producing a city within a city, with a parallel setup of public and community services. A different pattern exists in those Northern cities where there are relatively few Negroes, in which case the latter are usually found in a small part of the city and somewhat scattered even within this area, as for example in Gary, Indiana. Hoyt (p. 68) lays down the generalization that the degree of non-white concentration in any city increases directly with the number and proportion of nonwhite persons in the population.

Segregated housing leads in turn to segregation in schools, churches, recreational facilities, and other local institutions. It isolates the Negroes from the larger stream of urban life, retards their adjustment, and perpetuates in the minds of the white community the fears and misconceptions which distort the relations between the two groups.

As a result of residential segregation, the Negro communities are grossly overcrowded, with a density of population from two to five times that of the white. In Chicago, for example, the population density of the Negro district is 75,000 to the square mile, almost seven times that of the city at large. In some neighborhoods it reaches a density of 90,000. In Baltimore, Negroes, constituting 20 per cent of the population, are crowded into less than 5 per cent of its residential area. Because of the white attitude, the normal expansion of the Negro area is prevented, with the result that a growth in the demand for Negro housing is not met by a corresponding increase in supply. Overvaluation, rent exploitation, poor housing, and poor health conditions usually result. The housing problem also affects the sex criminality and the inescapable altercations leading to arrests for assault and manslaughter. Thorndike (pp. 77-81) in his rating of cities observed that the greater the proportion of Negroes, the lower the score a city received because the presence of Negroes meant frequent child labor, illiteracy, low wages, less per capita wealth, higher sickness and death rates, and the like.

Conditions in the segregated Negro districts bear with special injustice upon the upper class Negroes who have the desire and the means for more adequate housing but are repelled by the

whites when they attempt to move into better neighborhoods. For instance, a brochure, "Fundamentals of Real Estate Practice," published in 1943 by the National Association of Real Estate Boards, includes as an objectionable use of a house in a respectable neighborhood, to which "no reputable broker will consent," occupancy by a bootlegger, a "madam," a gangster, or "a colored man of means, who was giving his children a college education and thought they were entitled to live among whites"! It is the normal situation for any population to be segregated on the basis of differences in income, occupation, and other factors; but this is not allowed sufficiently to operate in the case of Negroes. In housing, Negroes are traditionally excluded from freely competing in the open market. The usual procedure on the part of the white community is practically to neglect the needs of the Negroes and then to resist by means more foul than fair their efforts to obtain better housing and living conditions.

Numerous have been the instances, especially in Northern cities following the migration of the Negroes since the beginning of the First World War, when the attempt by Negroes to invade white residential areas was met with intimidation, home bombing, riots, destruction of property, personal injury, and death. Chicago has been one of the most active exponents of such measures; in the two-year period 1944 to 1946 there were more than forty-six arson bombings and other acts of terrorism against houses occupied by Negroes in covenanted areas. More frequently Negroes have been kept from expanding by the simple but general device on the part of the whites of refusing to sell or rent houses to them. In justification it is stated that the advent of Negroes in a neighborhood leads to property depreciation, but this is merely a rationalization of the fact that the whites regard Negroes as inferior and do not wish to associate with them. Most commonly Negroes move only into older, less desirable sections of a city where property values are already depreciating. Where actual property depreciation does occur as a result of Negro infiltration, it is due to the hysteria on the part of whites leading to a sudden and wholesale throwing of property upon the market. So frequently is this the white reaction that shrewd realtors have been known to introduce a Negro family for the express purpose of cleaning up large profits on property deals. Normally and where the infiltration is slow, there is no loss of real estate value; in many cases

the rentals and sale prices increase. It is a common situation that Negroes are forced to pay higher rents than whites for the same accommodations for they are not free to compete. In appearance Negro residence areas frequently leave much to be desired. This deficiency is a result primarily of substandard housing with absentee ownership, of poverty, poor education, and overcrowding. Even the National Association of Real Estate Boards has found that Negroes maintain their property as well as other persons in a similar economic category. Nevertheless, there are possibilities of improvement through stimulation of personal pride and a sense of responsibility through the action of community agencies.

The Negroes are not anxious to encroach on white sections nor to live with whites; what they desire is the best living conditions consonant with their means that the community affords and the fundamental democratic right of freedom of movement. The friction between the races could be greatly abated if provision were made for adequate housing for Negroes of all socio-economic classes, if Negro residential areas shared equally in public improvements, and if rent exploitation and other discriminatory practices were removed.

With few exceptions, however, the problem of Negro housing has been approached purely negatively, the main effort being to confine colored people to certain restricted areas. Attempts have even been made to give legal sanction to such segregation. Beginning in 1911, a number of cities in Southern and border states adopted segregation ordinances of various types. In 1917 the United States Supreme Court declared the Louisville ordinance, which expressly forbade a Negro occupying a house in a so-called white block, unconstitutional as an unwarranted use of the police power and in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. This position was reaffirmed in 1927 in a case involving the New Orleans ordinance which stipulated that a Negro might not occupy a house in a white block or a white person a house in a Negro block unless the prospective occupant obtained the written permission of a majority of the people already resident in the particular block. Likewise, discriminatory zoning laws have been held unconstitutional. In 1947 a Federal court ruled against the City of Birmingham, Alabama, whose zoning ordinance provided for separate Negro and white residential areas.

RACE RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS

When segregation ordinances failed to accomplish their purpose because of constitutional difficulties, segregation by agreement among property owners was attempted. This is the method of the so-called restrictive covenant, to be found in many cities North as well as South, whereby white property owners and real estate operators bind themselves not to sell, rent, lease, or transfer property to Negroes or other specified races. In the North the pattern has spread rapidly since the large in-migration of Negroes. It has been applied to other races as well, including Mexicans in the Southwest, American Indians, Filipinos, Chinese, and Japanese in California and the West Coast, and Jews, Armenians, and others elsewhere; but the most common provision is against Negroes. Racial covenants, as Weaver points out, give an appearance of respectability to residential segregation. They are most prevalent among the middle and upper class groups. Among the signers of such documents are churches, banks, and colleges, as well as the "better people" of all faiths. So common are these restrictive covenants that even the Federal Housing Administration fell in line with the general pattern and listed in its *Underwriting Manual* (1938) "protection from adverse influences," including "inharmoonious racial groups," as one of the important factors in determining eligibility for a loan. It included a suggested form in its *Outline of Protective Covenants*, a guide issued to private real estate interests whose bank loans are insured by the FHA. It has even refused to insure loans for Negroes who desired to build in what it calls "white communities," even when the lot selected was covenant free. Following protest from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a revision of the *FHA Manual* was issued in 1947 in which mention of race or color has been eliminated from its discussion of residential restrictions. Long and Johnson (p. 72), however, question whether FHA has substantially altered its procedures and policies.

Robert C. Weaver has suggested (*Hemmed In*, pp. 11-12) that covenants based on occupancy standards instead of race would both protect the integrity of a neighborhood and afford an opportunity for the member of a minority group who has the means and the urge to live in a desirable neighborhood. Occupancy standards would bar excessive roomers, commit owners and occu-

pants to observe neighborhood standards of maintenance, and otherwise preserve the area for family living to the common interest of all residents. Such agreements would have the effect of preventing or at least lessening the exodus of all whites upon the entrance of a few Negroes—which is what causes depressed property values—by permitting selective infiltration of the type of person, white or Negro, who would maintain neighborhood standards.

An agreement among white property owners in Washington, D.C., to exclude Negroes was sustained by the United States Supreme Court in 1926, which held that nothing in the Constitution prohibited private individuals from entering into contracts respecting the control and disposition of their own property. Thus, although a municipality may not by ordinance segregate the Negroes from the white residents, no such restraint was placed on individual owners, who may enter into contracts respecting the control and disposition of their property with the purpose of excluding Negroes from its use and enjoyment. This position was reaffirmed in 1940 in the case of *Hansberry v. Lee* for even though the decision invalidated one particular restrictive covenant in Chicago on a technicality, it left restrictive agreements as valid as they were before. Since private restrictive agreements can only be enforced in the courts, and the courts are an agency of the state and therefore subject to the Fourteenth Amendment, it has been argued (notably by Attorney General Robert W. Kenny of California) that contractual segregation should also be declared unconstitutional. Certainly it is an anomalous situation where neither the legislative nor executive branches of state government may require or enforce racial residential segregation, but another coordinate branch of state government—the courts—may accomplish the same result. To leave our basic law in this position would invite painful comparison with the notorious Nuremberg laws against the Jews. The only real solution for the problem is for the courts to decide that race restrictive covenants violate public policy (as was held by the Supreme Court of Ontario, Canada, in 1945) or contravene the letter and the spirit of the Fourteenth Amendment (as was held by the United States Supreme Court in 1948).

In January, 1948, the question was brought to the United States Supreme Court on appeals filed in behalf of Negroes who bought

houses in Detroit, St. Louis, and Washington, D.C., but were prevented from living in them. In May the Supreme Court in a 6 to 0 ruling (three justices having disqualified themselves, allegedly because they owned or were interested in property restricted by covenants) held that covenants to bar Negroes or other racial groups from owning real estate were legally unenforceable. The state court issue was decided on that part of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution which forbids any state to deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. In the District of Columbia case, the Supreme Court said that it was unnecessary to consider any constitutional question, inasmuch as the Civil Rights Act of 1866 commanded that all citizens, regardless of color, should have the right to "inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold and convey real and personal property." Moreover, Chief Justice Vinson said that for the Federal courts of the District of Columbia to enforce the covenants was "contrary to the public policy of the United States."

Although the United States Supreme Court thus denied the courts authority to enforce race restrictive covenants, the tribunal did not question the validity of the agreements themselves. The question before the Supreme Court was the validity, not of the private agreements as such, but of the judicial enforcement of those agreements. Stated Mr. Vinson: "So long as the purposes of those agreements are effectuated by voluntary adherence to their terms, it would appear clear that there has been no action by the state and the provisions of the amendment have not been violated. The amendment erects no shield against merely private conduct, however discriminatory or wrongful." While private discriminatory agreements may thus continue to exist, they have been dealt an effective blow by this Supreme Court decision since they cannot be enforced by courts in the states and Federal territory. From the practical standpoint, the importance of the restrictive covenant decision lies in the fact that it admits Negroes and members of other proscribed groups to the open housing market from which they have hitherto been excluded.

EFFORTS TO IMPROVE HOUSING CONDITIONS

In recent years attempts have been made to improve housing conditions for Negroes. They began with private initiative on the part of such organizations as the National Urban League,

limited dividend housing corporations, and private philanthropy. Outstanding examples of such improved housing are the Paul Laurence Dunbar apartments of New York and the Boulevard Garden apartments of Chicago. The movement has been furthered by the slum-clearance projects and low-cost housing programs of the Federal government, under which improved housing facilities have been made available in limited quantity for Negroes in numerous cities North and South. As of July 1, 1945, 46,522 or 35.1 per cent of the units in the low-rent housing program of the Federal Public Housing Authority were occupied by, or programmed for, Negroes. In projects built under the U.S. Housing Act, 36.5 per cent of the units were available to Negroes. In the war-housing program 99,062 or 15.6 per cent of all such dwelling units were for Negroes. These percentages are appreciably higher than the ratio of Negroes in the total population. The Federal housing program has also provided employment on an equal basis for Negro building-trades workers in the construction of low-rent and defense housing projects and Negro white-collar workers on the management staffs.

The Federal Public Housing Authority has not yet formulated any policy on racial occupancy. Various practices are followed in the local projects. In the South the races are strictly segregated either in separate projects or in separate sections of a project that is occupied by both races; the former procedure is more common. In the North, the projects are either devoted entirely to one race or, as is more usual, given over to mixed occupancy, which has in general worked successfully. A general principle that would lessen friction and treat both groups equitably would be to have the occupancy of a project follow the general lines of the neighborhood as to composition prior to the construction of the project. That the problem is by no means solved is indicated by the conflict situation that developed in Detroit in the spring of 1942 in connection with the Federal defense housing project designed for Negroes. This project, named Sojourner Truth Homes after a famous Negro antislavery speaker, was originally designed for Negro occupancy, then assigned to whites, and finally returned to Negroes. When the latter tried to move in, they were mobbed by a group of whites, many persons were hurt in the riot, and numerous arrests were made. The police fought on the side of the whites. On account of the riot, occupancy was delayed for two

months but was finally carried out by order of the Federal authorities under the protection of state troops. Aside from the fact that warworkers, regardless of race or creed, must have adequate homes, the project was located in an area already occupied to a considerable extent by Negroes. Discrimination against the Negroes in housing as in so many other respects brought into sharp focus during the war the discrepancy between our actual practice of democracy at home and our professed war aims.

It should be noted, further, that even if the government, local or Federal, does not encourage racial restrictions, private interests operating under government concessions may put discriminatory practices into effect if proper safeguards are not devised. The experience of Stuyvesant Town, a postwar housing project in New York, housing approximately 24,000 people, is a case in point. It was built by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, which has barred Negroes from occupancy despite the fact that the project is semipublic inasmuch as the company was granted the right of eminent domain to aid it in assembling the land, a contribution of 504,449 square feet of city-owned land, representing 19 per cent of the site area, and tax exemption of more than \$1,000,000 annually for 25 years. The New York City Board of Estimate ratified the contract despite the announced racial policy of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. Yet New York is a city in which mixed public-housing projects have been maintained for many years. The United Nations which had arranged to rent a number of units in Stuyvesant Town for its secretariat renounced its agreement because of the discriminatory policy, thereby reflecting discredit upon the American tradition and causing embarrassment to the United States government.

Of the various problems facing the Negro perhaps none is more urgent or arouses so much resentment as the restrictions put upon him in housing. To lessen this conflict area and to meet adequately the housing needs of Negroes and other racial minorities it is necessary that their needs be recognized as an integral part of the total housing need of the community, that racial restrictive covenants be rendered "void and of no effect" actually as they have been legally, that wherever excessive density exists, the land area open to Negroes be increased, that private enterprise develop the market for financing, constructing, and developing homes for middle and upper income Negroes, and that public-

housing programs for low-income people be greatly extended with continuance of equity of participation by all racial groups in accordance with their housing needs and ability to pay the costs.

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CHAPTER 11

NEGRO HEALTH AND VITALITY

Since their first introduction to the United States, the Negroes have presented a more serious health problem than that of the whites. While their numbers have increased, from three-fourths of a million in 1790 to nearly thirteen million in 1940, their rate of increase has uniformly been less than that of the whites, and over the total period covered by the Census they have constituted a declining proportion of the total population, as the accompanying table reveals.

GROWTH OF THE NEGRO POPULATION SINCE 1790

Census year	Number of Negroes	Percentage of total population	Percentage increase of Negroes during decade	Percentage increase of whites during decade
1790	757,208	19.3		
1800	1,002,037	18.9	32.3	35.8
1810	1,377,808	19.0	37.5	36.1
1820	1,771,656	18.4	28.6	34.2
1830	2,328,642	18.1	31.4	33.9
1840	2,873,648	16.8	23.4	34.7
1850	3,638,808	15.7	26.6	37.7
1860	4,441,830	14.1	22.1	37.7
1870	4,880,009	12.7	9.9	24.8
1880	6,580,793	13.1	34.9	29.2
1890	7,488,676	11.9	13.8	26.7
1900	8,333,940	11.6	18.0	21.2
1910	9,827,763	10.7	11.2	21.8
1920	10,463,131	9.9	6.5	15.7
1930	11,891,143	9.7	13.6	15.7
1940	12,865,518	9.8	8.2	7.2

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Negroes in the United States, 1920-1932*, pp. 1-2; *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Population*, Vol. II, *Characteristics of the Population*, p. 19.

In 1870 and 1890 there were gross undercounts of the Negro population. Estimates of the more probable counts have been made that eliminate to some extent the irregularities of the decennial rates of increase. Revised counts of Negroes for 1870 and 1890 are, respectively, 5,392,172 and 7,760,000, and the corresponding percentages of the total population, 13.5 and 12.3. In 1870 the percentage increase of Negroes over the preceding ten years would be 21.4; in 1880, 22.0; and in 1890, 17.6. The Bureau of the Census admits that there may have been an incomplete enumeration in 1920 but believes that the irregular increase from 1910 to 1920 was due primarily to the influenza epidemic, the northward migration of Negroes, military service in the First World War, and the advent of the boll weevil into areas of relatively high density of Negro population, all of which operated to decrease the birth rate and increase the death rate. Daniel O. Price finds that the 1940 Census under-enumerated Negro males 21 to 35 years of age by about 13 per cent as compared to an under-enumeration of all males of this age group of about 3 per cent. Mobility and lack of permanent domicile are suggested as the main underlying factors.

With such corrections in mind, we may note, first, that in 1940 the Negro population was seventeen times as large as it was in 1790, while the white population was thirty-seven times as large as it was at the earlier date. At the time of the first census practically one out of every five persons in the United States was a Negro; in 1940 only one out of ten. A population may increase through one or both of two factors: by excess of births over deaths and by net immigration. Immigration has been negligible in the case of Negroes, while it has been an important factor in the growth of the white population; but even when allowance is made for it, we find that the Negro rate of increase has been appreciably less than that of the whites. The Negro birth rate, as we shall see, is higher than the white birth rate, but the Negro death rate is so excessively high that it more than offsets the favorable balance of births with the result that the Negroes' natural rate of increase has been less than that of the whites. Death is a respecter of persons for he takes the poor before the rich, the black before the white.

THE BIRTH RATE

All the evidence at hand indicates that the birth rate of Negroes is higher than that of whites. Exactly what the situation is, it is impossible to say since statistics concerning birth rates are very unsatisfactory. The Birth Registration Area of the United States was not formed until 1915 and included only 10 states and the District of Columbia, and it was not until 1933 that it included the whole United States. There is still considerable laxity regarding the registration of births, and the indications are that failure to register births is more common among Negroes than whites. The data, such as they are, indicate that the crude birth rate, expressed in terms of births per 1,000 population, is usually higher in the Negro than in the white population. In 1945, for example, the contrasting rates were 23.3 and 19.2. For the five-year period 1941 to 1945 the birth rate for nonwhites, which is practically an index for Negroes, was 23.4 as compared with 19.9 for whites. This differential is also true of the adjusted birth rates expressed in terms of births per 1,000 females at childbearing age, usually from 15 to 44 years. Since the number of females at these ages is known accurately only at census years, the adjusted rates are available at present only for 1940. At that date the standardized rate for whites was 72.5 and for others, mainly Negroes, 83.3.

The highest birth rate of both white and colored occurs in the rural areas of the South. The higher fertility of Negroes is also indicated by the fact that in 1940 the average number of children ever born to Negro mothers was 3.6 as compared with 3.0 for native white mothers. The maximum birth rate for Negroes appears to have occurred during slavery. There was a decline during Reconstruction days, then a recovery followed by a more or less steady decline which is still in progress, and which will probably continue as Negroes become increasingly urbanized. But the number of children under five years per 1,000 women aged 15 to 44 has consistently been higher in Negroes than in whites though it is now approaching equality. (In 1870, 692 for Negroes, 610 for whites; in 1900, 582 and 508, respectively; in 1930, 393 and 386; and in 1940, 310 for both races.) Since infant and child mortality have been considerably higher in Negroes, it is evident that the birth rate of the latter must have been markedly higher than that of the white population. Raymond Pearl

(pp. 88-90, 131, 194) has concluded from his studies of the reproductive histories of over a thousand women that Negroes on the average have significantly higher pregnancy rates, significantly lower reproductive wastage rates due to miscarriage or abortion, and consequently significantly higher birth rates. Roughly only about a third as many Negro women as white women resort to contraception. Holmes states in his article "The Trend of the Racial Balance of Births and Deaths" (p. 93):

Educated Negroes restrict their families not only for the same reasons that actuate the whites but because they feel the drawbacks of their position and the humiliations of racial discrimination to which they are subject. Hence, many are loath to bring children into the world to be exposed to similar handicaps. Whether this psychological attitude will become more prevalent in the future is uncertain. On account of their economic status the temptation for Negroes to limit their families, especially in urban areas, is doubtless great. The very high percentage of Negro women who are gainfully employed in the cities, as compared with white women of both native and foreign parentage, is doubtless responsible for much of this limitation. On the other hand, numerous rural Negroes will continue to follow their traditional reproductive mores.

INFANT AND MATERNAL MORTALITY RATES

Despite their high birth rate, the median size of the Negro family is smaller than that of the white family (3.02 as compared with 3.16 in 1940). This is due primarily to the high death rate, especially the high infant mortality rate. More than a quarter of a million Negro infants are born each year in the United States, almost two-thirds of them in the rural areas in the Southern states. About 22,000 Negro infants die before completing their first year of life. The infant mortality rate for Negroes in 1945 was 56.2 per 1,000 live births, which was considerably in excess of the rate of 35.6 per 1,000 for white infants. During the period, 1941 to 1945, the rate was 64 for nonwhites (principally Negro) as contrasted with 38 for whites. While the mortality rate for Negro infants is greatly in excess of that for white infants in every section of the United States, the discrepancy is especially high in urban areas. The general death rate, as well as the infant mortality rate, is higher for males than for females, which accounts in large part for the extraordinary situation that at each

census since 1840 the number of females has exceeded the number of males in the Negro population. Other theoretical explanations cannot account for it, since there has been no appreciable emigration of males nor evidence that it is determined by the sex ratio at birth, which, while lower for Negroes than for whites, is still above 100. There is a possibility, as we shall see later, that the sex ratio of the Negro population is affected by the greater tendency of males than of females to pass over into the white world.

More than 15,000 Negro stillbirths are registered annually in the United States. The stillbirth rate per 1,000 live births was 42.9 for Negroes during 1945 as compared with 21.4 for the whites. The maternal death rate the same year was much higher among Negro than among the white mothers, 4.5 per 1,000 live births as compared with 1.7.

The excessive infant and maternal mortality among Negroes is explainable largely on social or environmental grounds. Nearly two-fifths of the Negro births are attended by midwives—in the rural areas of the South about four-fifths are so attended—and less than half of them occur in hospitals, in sharp contrast to the situation among the whites. In the United States as a whole, about 98 per cent of the white infants are attended at birth by physicians, and over 80 per cent of the births take place in hospitals. Only in the cities in the North do the Negroes enjoy this favorable situation. A much higher proportion of very young mothers is to be found among the Negroes than among the whites. Many of them are so young that they cannot be expected to have much appreciation of their own need for adequate care or much education regarding methods of feeding and caring for infants. In addition to ignorance of child nurture, other factors such as poverty, inadequate housing, the high rate of employment of Negro mothers, the high rate of illegitimacy, the greater prevalence of venereal disease, and the inadequate public health services help account for this excessive mortality.

The situation, however, is showing definite improvement. The Negro infant mortality rate has decreased during the period for which statistics are available. It has declined, for instance, from 180.6 per 1,000 live births in 1915 to 56.2 in 1945. It stands today at about the same point as the white infant mortality rate a generation ago. The mortality rate for Negro mothers has decreased

since 1928, the earliest year for which information is available. In that year more than 12 Negro mothers died from diseases of pregnancy and childbirth for every 1,000 Negro infants born alive; in 1945 the rate was approximately 5. These downward trends are probably due largely to the gradual adaptation of the Negro and to the increasing healthfulness of the community in which he lives. To some extent they are associated with the development of maternal and child-health programs, but such programs among Negroes in most sections of this country are still in the pioneer stage.

GENERAL MORTALITY RATES

The greatest handicap to a natural increase of the Negro population is the death rate, which is not only high but is particularly effective on the most productive element of the population, the middle-aged and young-adult groups. The life tables for the period 1930 to 1939 prepared by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, the first to cover the entire country for a ten-year period, show a higher mortality for Negroes than for whites up to the age of 75 years. Especially revealing are the records of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, which has insured over two million Negroes or nearly a fifth of the total population. In the period 1911 to 1935 the excess mortality of the colored over the white policyholders amounted to 40 per cent among males and almost 70 per cent among females. The excess mortality among the colored policyholders obtains at every age period and is greatest during adolescence and the early adult years. For many of the important causes of death, the death rates are two or more times as high among the colored as among the white policyholders, for example, influenza, tuberculosis, syphilis, cerebral hemorrhage, pneumonia, chronic nephritis, and homicide. These records also disclose that the Negroes experience a lesser expectation of life. At age 10, the expectation of life of white males in 1911 was 45.6 years, that of white females 50.6 years. Among the colored, the corresponding figures were 41.3 years for males and the same for females. At the other end of the series, 1935, the figures at age 10 were 53.7 for white males and 57.6 for white females; among the colored, the figure for males was 47.0 and that for females 49.4. The white policyholders thus experienced a greater gain in expec-

tation of life than did the colored, and colored males showed the least gain of all.

The experience here surveyed is not unique, for in similar studies of the general population mortality among the colored is much higher than that among white persons, although the situation is improving. According to the U.S. Public Health Service Reports, the crude death rate in 1945 was 12.0 for Negroes as against 10.5 for whites. Although the Negro health picture is unfavorable, it has shown considerable improvement—the Negro mortality rate in 1910 was 24.1 per 1,000 population (that of whites 14.5). For the latest census year (1940), the standardized death rate of whites was 8.2 per 1,000 population while that of Negroes was 14.0. The trend of colored and white mortality, specific for age, has been computed by the Bureau of the Census from 1910 to 1940. In both cases the mortality has declined, but the rate of decline has been more rapid for colored rates. In 1910 the rates were approximately 50 per cent higher than the white, while in 1940 they were only about $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent higher. The decline in Negro mortality has been mainly at ages under 25 years.

The conditions of mortality at a given time may be conveniently summarized by means of a life table, including the expectation of life at any given age. According to the *United States Life Tables and Actuarial Tables, 1939-1941*, the life expectation of Negroes at birth was about 10 years less than that of whites. The figures, by sex, were 52.26 years for Negro males as compared with 62.81 years for white males and 55.56 years for Negro females as compared with 67.29 years for white females. Although the life expectancy of Negroes falls appreciably short of the white standard, it has shown steady and rapid improvement, amounting to a gain of 20 years in life span since 1900. The average duration of life for Negroes in 1940 was about at the level achieved by the whites before the First World War.

According to the National Office of Vital Statistics (U.S. Public Health Service), the 10 leading causes of death among Negroes in 1945 were diseases of the heart, intracranial lesions of vascular origin, tuberculosis, nephritis, cancer, pneumonia and influenza, accidents (except motor-vehicle), syphilis, diabetes mellitus, and premature birth. If tabulated by sex, the list would be extended to include homicide for Negro males and diseases of pregnancy for Negro females. As compared with the leading causes of mor-

tality among whites, especially marked is the lower rank order, among Negroes, of cancer and the higher rank order of tuberculosis. Also noteworthy is the appearance of syphilis in the Negro list and its absence from the white list of leading causes.

The National Health Survey of 1935-1936 found that the amount of disability per person due to illness which incapacitated for a week or longer was 43 per cent higher in the Negro than in the white population. The higher disability rate for Negroes was attributed by Holland and Perrott to the greater prevalence among them of chronic diseases and to their lower economic status. The selective service records over the period 1940 to 1947, according to Smith (p. 74), showed a rejection rate for military service, because of physical or mental disease or defect, of 27.6 per cent for white and 41.1 per cent for Negro males aged 18 to 45. Aside from the South, where hospital facilities are inadequate, the rate of Negro patients under treatment for mental disease is greater than that of the whites; Negro first admissions are especially high in the case of the syphilitic psychoses. The health problem of the Negro with reference to tuberculosis and syphilis calls for special comment.

THE SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF TUBERCULOSIS AND SYPHILIS

The mortality rate for tuberculosis among Negroes is three to four times the rate among white people. In the South it is about two and one-half times as great, in the North more than five times. Prior to about 1925 it was the leading cause of death among Negroes; since then it has been exceeded by heart disease and now also by intracranial lesions of vascular origin. Among whites, tuberculosis now stands in seventh or eighth place. The tuberculosis mortality among the colored population is at the level around which the white mortality hovered twenty-five years ago.

The apparent lack of physical resistance on the part of the Negro to the invading tubercle bacilli is explained by many experts as being due to lack of previous exposure. This is said to account for the rapid and devastating spread of tuberculosis among the colored people of the South after the Civil War when the emancipated but generally helpless and almost penniless blacks found their habits of life disrupted and became subject to mass infection through close association with white germ carriers. Tuberculosis became so rampant that as late as 1896 Dr. Frederick

L. Hoffman, consulting statistician of the Prudential Life Insurance Company, predicted that the Negro's extreme liability to consumption alone would be sufficient to doom the race to extinction. It is generally agreed that tuberculosis was introduced into Africa by invaders from other countries. Even within recent times tuberculosis was completely absent in the more inaccessible parts of that continent. Thus the Negroes, like other races who have known the disease only a comparatively short time, have not yet had the opportunity to acquire the full resistance that the forces of natural selection have brought to most of the white races. Significant from this point of view was the experience of African colonial troops sent to France during the First World War. These troops, recruited almost entirely from regions where tuberculosis was virtually unknown, contracted the disease after coming into contact with white people and experienced an excessively high mortality. The fact that they died quickly, instead of having the disease run a long, slow, chronic course as is usually true in the case of white patients, is in agreement with the theory that the Negro usually reacts to tuberculosis as to an acute, rapidly progressing illness. The acquisition of resistance to tuberculosis is a slow process, yet in the comparatively short history of exposure of Negroes to tuberculosis, a marked alteration in the type of disease is demonstrated.

Like tuberculosis, syphilis is relatively new to the Negro as a race. In Africa, where the Negro lives uncontaminated by white civilization, both diseases are unknown. Dr. Parran comments (in an article in the *Survey Graphic*): "It is said by medical historians that the Negro slave brought malaria and the hookworm to America. If he did, the white man paid him back with usury by giving him tuberculosis and syphilis from both of which he suffers more greatly than the races originally the reservoir of infection." As in the case of the American Indians, to whom the disease was also introduced by the whites, the Negroes show a virulence unheard of among the Caucasians.

Probably the best data on the occurrence of syphilis in Negroes are afforded by the several surveys of sample areas in the Southern states, in which the entire Negro population was tested. Most of these surveys have revealed a rate of syphilitic infection of 20 to 25 per cent. Other reliable sources are the records of the United States Army and those of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Com-

pany. During the First World War the admission rates for the United States Army were 13 per thousand for whites and 65 for colored recruits. In the Second World War, based on serologic reports on the first 2,000,000 selectees, the syphilis rate for white males was 23.5 while for Negroes it was 272. In the general population the relative prevalence of syphilis between Negroes and whites is about tenfold. Among the clientele of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company (1911 to 1920) the mortality rates per 100,000 due to syphilis were white males 16, white females 7, colored males 46, colored females 26. In the experience of this company the course of mortality from syphilis has been downward among the whites but upward among the Negro policyholders. Most of the mortality really due to this disease, however, is attributed to other causes.

The prevalence of venereal diseases among Negroes exerts a strong adverse influence upon their natural fertility. Syphilis is the chief cause of stillbirths that occur so frequently among colored women and is an important factor in the high infant mortality rate. Gonococcus infection, while rarely fatal, frequently leads to sterility in both sexes and is mainly responsible for the high percentage of childless marriages occurring among Negroes. The conquest of venereal diseases in the Negro population is one of the most important, though most difficult, of our public health problems. Were it successfully solved, mortality would markedly decline, the birth rate would show a conspicuous rise, and the Negroes would probably increase more rapidly than the whites.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS IN NEGRO MORTALITY

It is not difficult to see why mortality is higher among colored than among white persons. Poverty and ignorance are the friends of disease in all races, as Dr. Parran has said, and the Negroes have more than their share of both. The invariably lower income, the higher percentage on relief, and the lower level of living—all contribute to the high mortality rate. In the case of the diseases from which the Negro suffers particularly, social factors are especially prominent. The Negro, for example, is a victim of most of the circumstances that are factors in a high incidence of tuberculosis and pneumonia—undernourishment, improper diet, poor housing, severe labor, exposure, poor sanitation, and so forth. Moral laxity, ignorance, poverty, and the unavailability of clinical

facilities have been asserted to be the chief factors in the high rate of syphilis among Negroes. Investigations by the U.S. Public Health Service and the Rosenwald Fund have shown an important relationship between economic status and the amount of syphilis in a community.

The lower level of education among Negroes and their concentration in rural areas help account for their lack of knowledge of hygiene and sanitation. To a greater extent than among whites, Negroes still hold to primitive conceptions of disease and place great reliance on folk medicine. In the backward regions of the South they rarely ascribe disease to physical causes but regard it as a visitation of God or a result of other supernatural causes, and they cling with a blind faith to charms, magical formulas, and other superstitious practices. Examples of these superstitious beliefs, some harmless, others dangerous, but all a handicap to medical advance, are the following "cures" for disease current among the colored population in rural sections of the South:

To break a baby's chill, dip a cotton string into turpentine, run the string through the baby's hand as many times as the baby has had chills, undress him, and tie the string about his waist.

For measles, let the child drink tea made from sheep dung mixed with whisky.

For diphtheria, wear a dirty stocking about the neck.

For chickenpox, lie down before a henhouse door and let chickens fly over you.

In the case of abscess, use cow dung for a poultice.

In confinement cases, fry an egg brown on both sides and place it on the abdomen of the mother to hasten labor. Place a Bible on the foot of the mother's bed; if in her paroxysms of pain she kicks it out of the bed, either she or the child will die; if the Bible remains in bed, both will have good luck. On the third day after birth, the mother must walk around her room three times for good luck.

An Irish potato carried in the pocket will cure rheumatism. If the potato dries up, the sufferer will be relieved of rheumatism; if it rots, he did not have *true* rheumatism.

Whooping cough is treated by tying a leather string or a piece of deer horn about the neck, by administering a tea made from a hornets' nest, or by holding the child over the privy during a coughing spell and letting him inhale the odor.

To strengthen weak eyes, bathe them in your own urine, or wear brass earrings.

Scrofula is best treated by tying a live frog about the neck.

Pepper and salt will cure spasms.

Fried mice given to children will keep them from wetting the bed.

For scarlet fever, a tea made of steeped sheep or chicken manure is best.

If you are sick and having pains, place an ax in bed with you; it will cut the pain.

To cure a husband of drinking, skin a live eel; put the skin in some liquor and give it to him; he will never drink again.

The high sickness and death rate of Negroes is related to their concentration in the South where medical facilities are less adequate than in other sections of the country and where they share unequally with the whites in what provisions there are. The South is too rural, too sparsely settled, and too poor to possess the best medical facilities. It generally ranks toward the bottom in the ratio of physicians, dentists, and nurses to the population, in percentage of counties having hospitals, in the ratio of hospital beds to population, and in per capita public health expenditures. The proportion of physicians, dentists, trained nurses, and social workers is much less among Negroes than among the whites, and schools, hospitals, and other facilities for training them are rare. This situation is significant in the light of Dr. Parran's statement that "the well-qualified Negro nurse and physician are much more successful in caring for their own people than are the well-qualified and well-intentioned white nurse and physician." In recent years there has been a definite movement toward improving medical facilities and personnel in the South.

It is accepted as a minimal standard of safety that there should be 1 physician to 1,500 of population. The national average is about 1 to 750. By contrast, in 1940 the proportion of Negro physicians to Negro population was 1 to 3,530. These figures are significant in terms of Negro health. The lowest ratio of Negro physicians is to be found in the South. Although the number of Negro physicians is slowly increasing, it is still greatly insufficient. There is a lack of adequate training facilities in Negro medical schools and a lack of opportunities in white medical schools and hospitals. In 1928 there were only 29 Negro public health nurses in the South. In 1945 there were 532 in the South and a total of 1,101 in the nation, most of whom were employed by official agencies—a notable increase but still an inadequate supply.

The Negro hospitals in the United States have a total of only about 10,000 beds. Most of these hospitals are small and non-accredited. The great majority of Negroes must therefore seek care from white institutions. In the South, if such hospitals admit Negroes at all, they enforce a rigid segregation. The Negro wards are usually inferior and poorly serviced. In some rural areas where the population is predominantly Negro, as few as 75 hospital beds are set aside for the use of 1,000,000 Negroes. In rural areas and small towns where hospital facilities for the general population are meager, Negroes are usually excluded altogether except for emergency treatment in case of accident. Negroes have died because even first aid was denied them. In the North there are many hospitals which do not separate their patients according to race, but restrictive hospital policies limit the number of Negro physicians and nurses and exclude them from postgraduate training. The present situation of inadequate hospital services for Negroes may be ameliorated through the Hospital Survey and Construction Act of 1946 which contains an antidiscrimination clause. No hospital project can receive Federal aid under this act unless assurance is given that there will be no discrimination among patients because of race, creed, or color. If separate hospital facilities are provided, in localities where segregation exists by law or custom, equitable provisions must be made for each population group.

THE QUESTION OF A RACIAL OR HEREDITARY FACTOR

The question has been raised whether the much higher mortality of Negroes may not be due to a racial factor as well as to environmental conditions. It appears that different diseases affect the Negroes and whites in different ways. Tuberculosis, pneumonia-influenza, syphilis, nephritis, and pellagra are more prevalent among Negroes than among whites. On the other hand, despite the fact that Negroes everywhere enjoy less favorable surroundings than the whites, certain diseases are less fatal to them. They are less susceptible than the whites to malaria, yellow fever, measles, scarlet fever, and diphtheria; they are largely free from hemorrhoids and varicose veins; they have better teeth; they have more resistant skin whereby they are less inclined to skin cancer and cutaneous diseases in general. Although the evi-

dence is very meager, mulattoes seem to be intermediate in their reaction to disease as they are in the color of their skin.

There is no doubt that immunity, which may briefly and generally be defined as a natural resistance of the organism to disease, differs with age, sex, and race and under different environmental conditions. The bringing together of peoples from different environments leads to an interchange of diseases for which each has different degrees of immunity. It is on that basis, for example, that the more serious effects of tuberculosis, pneumonia-influenza, and syphilis on the Negro may be explained. There is no absolute racial immunity to any disease. The Negro is not more susceptible to certain diseases because of physical make-up or inherent racial traits but because his resistance has not had time to develop. By the same token he is more immune to diseases that have been endemic in his experience. The characteristic anatomical features of the Negro were developed as an adaptation to a specific environment, including the diseases with which he has to cope. The efficiency of this adaptation is seen in the success with which he lives in those parts of Africa which are not readily inhabitable by white people. When transplanted, he had to overcome the handicaps of the new environment and build up a resistance to new diseases. His death rate under these conditions was so high that some writers, like Eggleston and Hoffman, concluded that he was biologically unfit for survival in America and predicted that the Negro problem would be solved by his extinction.

These doleful prophesies have been absolutely discredited by recent events. In the face of great handicaps the Negro has been successful in his physical struggle for survival. The population has increased seventeen times in little more than a century and a half, resistance to new diseases is being increasingly developed, the death rate is declining, and the life span is being continually lengthened—all of which indicate, in the words of Dr. Holmes, the biological victory of the black man. In fact, Negroes have demonstrated an ability to live much more readily in the countries of the Caucasians than the latter can live in Africa, excepting those parts of the continent with a climate more or less European in nature.

The thesis has been advanced, notably by the zoologist Samuel J. Holmes and by the anthropologist Clark Wissler, that while the initial impact of white civilization upon less advanced peoples

produces a great decline in the population of the latter, a later stage sets in when the rate of decline levels off and eventually changes to an increase. The American Indians, the Maoris, the Hawaiians, and the Bantu are said to have passed through these stages. The American Negro appears to be showing similar changes. Although the statistical evidence is very meager, it is believed that under slavery, when most of the Negroes were employed on the farms and plantations of the South, their mortality was relatively low and not much different from that of the whites. After emancipation, however, the death rate became alarmingly high. Ignorant, improvident, without financial resources, suddenly released from a condition in which they had been cared for by their masters, the Negroes became a ready prey to many maladies. During Reconstruction the Negro mortality was 35 to 40 per thousand. It probably reached its highest point sometime in the 1880's. It declined, in the Registration Area for Deaths, from 32.4 per thousand in 1890 to 14.0 in 1940. Today it is at a point equal to that of white Americans of only a generation ago and is about the same as the rate for a number of European countries before the First World War. The recent gains in the average length of life are entirely commensurate with those of the white population. This fact alone holds out the greatest promise for the future of the Negro in America.

In 1926 Dr. Hoffman reversed the statement made in 1896 in his book *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro*, to the effect that the Negro was doomed to extinction; he said their tendencies toward disease were environmental rather than racial. It is significant that the very fields in which the Negro death rate is still relatively the highest are those which can be conquered by education, sanitation, medical care, and an improved socio-economic status. According to the records of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, Negro mortality 1911 to 1935 has followed a trend similar to white persons except that throughout adult life per cent gains are smaller among Negro than among white policyholders. This marked decline is largely due to improvements in the death rates from tuberculosis, pneumonia, malaria, typhoid fever, and pellagra. Great improvement has also been attained in overcoming the heavy infant and child mortality rates among Negroes. The unfavorable features in the health picture of the Negroes, according to this company's experience,

are the high mortality rate that still prevails from the prevalence of such chronic degenerative diseases as cerebral hemorrhage, organic diseases of the heart, and nephritis, and the very great prevalence of syphilitic infection, which tends to keep the rates for all degenerative diseases high. From every angle, these records show, venereal diseases appear to be the most important single obstacle in the health progress of the race. The recent migration from the rural South to the urban North has also been a factor adversely affecting the reproductivity of the Negro population because it has been accompanied by a high death rate combined with a low birth rate. There is no insuperable obstacle to the Negro's continued existence in a northern latitude, and the Negro's health is being gradually improved along with advances in education and economic status.

Among the factors which are operating favorably on the life and health of the Negro population, particularly noteworthy has been the recent development of health activities in the South and Southwest. There has also been a movement to expand and improve hospital facilities for Negroes and to increase the number and quality of Negro physicians and nurses. Outstanding among these efforts have been the activities of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, which have centered in three major programs to improve Negro health: (1) the development of three institutions—Providence Hospital in Chicago, the Andrew Memorial Hospital in Tuskegee, and the Flint-Goodrich Hospital in New Orleans—as demonstrations of high standards of service to patients and as training centers for Negro physicians, nurses, and administrators; (2) the development of personnel; and (3) the influencing of public opinion, both colored and white, in order that the health needs of Negroes will be appreciated and more adequately met.

The rates of natural increase of whites and blacks in the United States are approaching equality. During the decade 1920 to 1930 the white population increased by 15.7 per cent, the Negro by 13.6; during the decade 1930 to 1940 the respective rates were 7.2 and 8.2. Among the factors accounting for this tendency toward equalization are the diminishing death rate of the Negroes, and especially the rapid decline of their infant mortality, the more rapid decline of the birth rate among whites, and the restriction of European immigration which has prevented the white population from being continually recruited by an exceptionally pro-

lific stock. As the reproductive rate of the whites falls off, that of the Negroes will automatically tend to rise. Any difference in reproduction rates that may now exist between the two groups must be very small, and it may entirely disappear or be reversed in the near future. Various estimates have been made as to the number and proportion of Negroes at future dates when, it is predicted by population experts, the total population of the United States will become relatively stabilized; for the year 1980 these estimates range from fourteen to eighteen million, and for the year 2000, from fifteen to twenty-five million.

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CHAPTER 12

NEGRO CRIMINALITY

There was considerable criminality among the slaves, much more than the court records of the time reveal since all minor and many major offenses were dealt with by the master and never came to the attention of the courts. In fact, there were two systems of law in the ante-bellum South, the law of the state and the law of the plantation. Except in the matter of major crimes, the sheriff and his deputies were slow to arrest anyone who lived under the protection of the plantation; the culprit was left in his own world to be punished by the master, who was a sort of private justice of the peace. Judgment was personal and depended upon the character and situation of the slave or servant who had got into trouble. In some states the law specifically delegated to the masters authority over the slaves, except in the case of serious crimes which were to be handled by the courts. The tradition of the plantation still prevails, and in some sections of the South Negro farm hands and tenants continue to be disciplined by the landlord, to whom also they must frequently look for protection since the Negro has never had much police protection in the South.

Since emancipation the criminal records, incomplete though they be, point clearly to a much higher crime rate among Negroes than among whites. The situation, however, is not as serious as it is popularly supposed to be, nor does it indicate any innate or racial criminal tendency. The newspapers, white and colored, emphasize Negro crime, and the habit of the white newspapers of labeling as Negroes such individuals of the race who figure in the crime news items, furthers the prevalent white notion as to the criminality of Negroes, especially since so few other Negro activities ever get into the white newspapers. It is significant that a number of newspapers, led by *The New York Times* and the *Chicago Sun*, have renounced the practice of identifying a person's racial background in ordinary crime stories.

The statistics on Negro crime need to be corrected for such factors as poverty, illiteracy, sex, age, and the like, in order to make them comparable with those for the whites. Geographic distribution is also a factor: the Negro crime rate is higher in the North than in the South because most of the Negroes in the North live in cities, which normally show a higher crime rate than rural areas, and proportionately more of them are in the age group when persons have the most tendency to crime. Moreover, inequalities before the law account to a considerable extent for the differential crime rates between the races. Negroes are less able than whites to take advantage of all that the law allows because they are too poor, too ignorant, or too unimportant socially. As Guy B. Johnson has stated, the Negro's chance of access to bail, to efficient legal counsel, to payment of cash fines instead of jail terms, and to all other legal advantages is on the average very much lower than the chance of the white man. The Negro is more likely to be arrested and convicted and to serve out his full term than the white man charged with the same offense.

THE NEGRO CRIME RATE

Our statistics on crime relate primarily to commitments to penal institutions. The only important exception is that of reports on number of arrests published by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. These indicate regularly a higher rate for Negroes. In 1946, for example, Negroes comprised a fourth of all persons arrested though they constituted only a tenth of the total population. Statistics on penal institutions, as reported by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, refer to county and city jails and to state and Federal prisons and reformatories. In the first case, the latest data available are for the year 1933. Among the prisoners in the county and city jails on Jan. 1, 1933, the number per 100,000 population fifteen years old and over of the same color, nativity, and race was 236.8 for Negro males, as compared with 71.9 for white males, and 24.4 for Negro females, as compared with 3.4 for white females. The same contrast applies to the proportion of prisoners received during the year, which was three times as high for Negro males and nine times as high for Negro females as the corresponding rates for the native whites. The census report (p. 15) states: "The much higher ratio for Negroes than for whites doubtless is accounted for in large measure by the

lower economic status of the Negro, the less frequent use for Negroes of forms of punishment other than imprisonment, and unfavorable attitudes on the part of the county officials." The report further indicates that Negroes are more commonly imprisoned for nonpayment of fines, a further indication of their greater poverty. Moreover, Negroes less frequently than whites are released on payment of fine, or are pardoned, paroled, or given suspended sentences.

In the case of felony prisoners received by state and Federal prisons and reformatories from the courts in 1945, 30.4 per cent of the males and 32.1 per cent of the females were Negro, which is much higher than the approximately 10 per cent that Negroes constitute of the total population. The Negro rate was excessive in every section of the country. The report (p. 24) utters a word of caution in interpreting these statistics:

No definite conclusions regarding the relative criminality of Negroes and whites can be drawn from statistics of prison commitments. Prison statistics do not necessarily reflect the proportionate number of crimes committed by the two races or the number of arrests made. Crime statistics indicate that, in general, Negro offenders are more likely to be arrested by the police than are white offenders. Moreover, an unqualified comparison of white and Negro crime rates is not entirely justifiable because of differences in economic and educational status. Proportionately more Negro than white persons live in neighborhoods with extremely poor living conditions. Most of the Northern and Western Negroes are city dwellers who, for the most part, migrated from the South and are still undergoing adjustment to new conditions.

The fundamental causes of crime are the same in the Negro as in any other group though they are accentuated by racial prescriptions, and there are the same variations in the crime rate between social classes among Negroes as among whites. As Myrdal (p. 979) states:

The upper and middle classes among Negroes are at least as law-abiding as the corresponding classes among whites; much of the differential in gross crime rate lies in the fact that the proportion of lower class Negroes is so much greater. Upper and middle class Negroes make a special effort to be law-abiding just as they try to avoid most of the typical and stereotyped patterns of behavior associated with the Negro lower classes. But, like the lower class, they

meet prejudiced treatment from the police and the courts and so add to the crime rate.

TYPE OF OFFENSE AND RACE

Negroes are generally arrested and sentenced for two main types of crime: either the minor offenses characteristic of the destitute and helpless groups of society or crimes of personal violence. In the first category falls petty theft, a notorious weakness of the Negro during slavery when the only way he ever had to possess himself of anything was to steal it. Although the Negro displays dishonesty of a petty kind, the native white is honest in small things but inclined to be dishonest in large matters. The commitment rate for the native whites is much higher than that for Negroes in embezzlement and fraud, auto theft, and forgery. Another minor offense for which Negroes form an exceptionally high percentage of the total convicted is gambling. A slight indication of its prevalence is the statement that in Chicago some \$10,000,000 is spent annually on policy playing alone; no other business in the Negro community is so large or so influential. As elsewhere in Negro communities, the policy racket in Harlem is the most widespread form of lawbreaking. The Negro arrest and commitment rates are also high for prostitution and commercialized vice.

Among major offenses the greatest proportions of Negro males are committed for burglary, larceny, and robbery. Among native whites, the three leading offenses are larceny, burglary, and auto theft. As compared with the whites, Negroes show a much higher proportion of offenders committed for aggravated assault, murder, and manslaughter. Contrary to public opinion the Negro rate for the crime of rape is no higher than the rate for either the native white or the foreign born. Moreover, the Negro rape rate is fallaciously high since white women frequently try to extricate themselves from the consequences of sexual delinquency by blaming or framing Negro men.

The rate of homicide for Negroes in the United States vital statistics registration area is about seven times greater than it is for whites. In 1946, according to the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, whose statistics are more accurate, it was nine times as high. In the South, where the rate among whites is exceptionally high, the difference between the two races is much less. In cities

the number of slayings among the colored group is greater than in the country. The killing of a white man by a Negro is a rare occurrence and is drastically punished. The killing of a Negro by a white man is much more frequent and only occasionally in the South is a white person punished for a crime against a Negro. One reason for the high homicide rate among Negroes is that many Negroes are shot by policemen for resisting arrest.

It should be noted that the statistics regarding homicide are based on the persons who are killed, not on those who did the killing. The great majority of cases of Negro homicide are of Negroes killed by Negroes, which in the South are regarded rather leniently by both Negroes and whites. Neither in Africa nor during slavery was human life highly esteemed. The killing of one slave by another was rarely punished severely, and even today the slaying of one Negro by another is usually dealt with leniently by the courts, thus encouraging a disrespect for the law and a feeling that life is cheap if it happens to be a Negro's life. On the other hand, the courts punish with drastic severity Negro violence against whites, thus causing Negroes to feel that the law is unjust. Since the Negro cannot hope for full justice and defense from our legal institutions, he is inclined to take the law into his own hands when his difficulties involve other Negroes. The feeling against going to court has in it an element of race solidarity. Some Negroes criticize a member of the race who takes legal action against another Negro. In addition to this distrust in the "white folks' law" that directly increases the amount of homicide both among the Negroes themselves and between the races, other factors in the situation may be the illiteracy and low state of development of many Negroes, their greater impulsiveness and less self-control, the friction and irritation produced by their cramped housing conditions, and the tendency to vent against other Negroes the rage they are unable to direct against white men who have wronged them.

DOUBLE STANDARD OF JUSTICE

Not only with reference to homicide but in the case of other offenses as well, the differential attitude of whites toward intra-racial as contrasted with inter-racial crime has far-reaching results. In a revealing article on "The Negro and Crime," Guy B. Johnson states that offenses are ranked in seriousness from high to low as

follows: (1) Negro versus white, (2) white versus white, (3) Negro versus Negro, (4) white versus Negro. In general, he points out, in the South the Negro versus Negro offenses are treated with undue leniency, while the Negro versus white offenses are treated with undue severity, and he makes the following significant comment (p.^x101):

The courts, like the police, are dealing out a double standard of justice. Numerous Negro intraracial offenses probably go unpunished or are punished so lightly that offenders feel a real contempt for the law, while the certainty of severe punishment in Negro versus white cases cannot help but make the Negro feel that justice is not entirely color blind. Undue leniency gives comfort to the disorderly and criminal element, promotes recidivism, and nurtures careers of crime. There is the further implication that, if these differentials are very slight in the North, as seems likely, then Northern statistics of Negro crime reflect actual Negro criminality in the North better than Southern statistics reflect actual Negro criminality in the South, and the statistics are therefore not safe indices of regional differences.

Another important factor in the crime situation is the attitude and behavior of the police. There is a general complaint, which is well founded, of police brutality in dealing with Negroes. Dr. Johnson (p.^x97) comments:

The Negro is more exposed to misuse of police power than any other group. The police custom of arresting Negroes on slight suspicion or of staging mass "roundups" of Negroes is definitely related to the Negro's lack of security and his inability to exert pressure against such abuses. Police pretty generally feel that in making arrests, handling witnesses, and obtaining confessions they can use brute force against Negroes with impunity.

Police brutality frequently ends in the unnecessary killing of Negroes. The characteristics of Southern policemen have a significant bearing on Negro crime. According to Myrdal (pp.^x540-541),

The average Southern policeman is a promoted poor white with a legal sanction to use a weapon. His social heritage has taught him to despise the Negroes, and he has had little education which could have changed him. . . . Probably no group of whites in America have a lower opinion of the Negro people and are more fixed in their views than Southern policemen. To most of them no Negro woman knows

what virtue is . . . and practically every Negro man is a potential criminal. They usually hold, in extreme form, all other derogatory beliefs about Negroes; and they are convinced that the traits are "racial." This holds true of the higher ranks in the police departments as well as the lower ranks.

In view of this situation, the recent movement to employ Negro police in the South is a significant event. According to a survey by the Southern Regional Council in 1947 over 200 Negro policemen were being employed in some 41 cities and towns in 10 Southern states. Their appointment has stemmed from two main factors: a desire to improve law enforcement in the Negro section of the community and increasing recognition of the political rights of Negroes following Supreme Court decisions. The reports clearly indicate that Negro policemen are proving highly satisfactory, that they have been effective in the suppression of crime in colored communities, and that their appointment has led to more wholehearted cooperation on the part of Negro citizens with the law enforcement authorities.

In the North, where Negroes have long served on the police force, an increasing number have recently been appointed, and a number of cities have set up courses for training the police in the handling of racial problems. In Chicago, officials cooperated in the preparation of a handbook, *The Police and Minority Groups*, which is being widely used as a manual.

DISCRIMINATION IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

The difference in status of the two races and the attitude of the dominant toward the subordinate race are also revealed in the fact that Negroes generally are given substantially longer sentences than whites. Although there are some variations in the case of specific offenses, prejudice toward the Negro in this respect is as great in the North as in the South. Moreover, Negroes remain in penal institutions to the expiration of their sentence in much greater proportions than do whites; that is, they are less subject to parole and to executive clemency (pardon or commutation). In 1945, for example, only 61.4 per cent of Negro male felony prisoners in state and Federal prisons and reformatories were paroled or released conditionally as compared with 71.4 per cent of comparable white prisoners. Among all prisoners released, Negroes had served on the average slightly longer than whites.

The use of the conditional release before expiration of the sentence is considerably less frequent in the South than in other parts of the country.

Local investigations have generally revealed that Negroes are more commonly arrested and subjected to police identification than are white offenders; that on similar evidence they are generally held and convicted on more serious charges; that they are less likely to be placed on probation. Especially in cases involving interracial relations does the discrimination appear severe. Negro periodicals make much of such differential treatment: in the same court a Negro is sentenced to five years for stealing a dollar while a white man is given two years for murder; or a white man is sentenced to six months for an assault on a colored girl while a Negro is sentenced for two years on the charge of writing a love note to a white girl. An old Negro once summed up the situation in these words: "Justice may be blind, but she ain't entirely color blind."

Even after correcting the statistics on Negro crime and making allowance for the factor of discrimination, the fact still remains that the Negroes present a great problem of criminality. This is not due to any innate or racial factor but to cultural conditions including the inter-racial situation. Because of slavery and its aftermath, the Negro has not yet developed sufficient self-control and responsibility, his family life is defective, his housing grossly inadequate, his employment situation insecure; he suffers many social and economic disadvantages; and race prejudice debarbs many from the opportunity of earning an honest living and tends to break down morale and destroy self-respect. There are too few Negro welfare and protective associations, too few colored policemen and probation officers, and too few institutional provisions of adequate standard.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

The social factors underlying Negro criminality are still more clearly revealed in respect to juvenile delinquency. In the cases handled by the juvenile courts in the country, Negro children appear more than three times as often as is to be expected on a population basis. During 1937, for example, Negro children were involved in 22 per cent of the delinquency cases although they constituted but 7 per cent of the total number of children in the

general population. In the distribution of offenses for which white and Negro children are brought up before the courts the most significant difference is that the Negroes are more often guilty of stealing. In regard to disposition, cases of Negro boys are less likely to be dismissed, and commitment to an institution is more likely to occur; Negro boys are also less likely to be placed on probation. For the country as a whole no marked differences are apparent in the disposition of the cases of white and Negro girls. The census report on *Juvenile Delinquents in Public Institutions, 1933*, shows a ratio over two and one-quarter times as high for Negroes as for whites. The ratio of admissions to population is far higher for males than for females. The lower ratio for Negro females is explained by the lack of institutional provision for them, 10 Southern states either having no such institutions or the institutions failing to report to the Census Bureau.

A special study of seven Southern courts, cited by Reckless and Smith, discloses a commitment rate for white girls that was almost five times as high as that for colored girls. The authors interpret this to mean that society guards the erring daughters of the dominant race by incarcerating them and that sex offense, which is the offense for which females get most commitments, is considered very serious in the case of white girls but is overlooked in the case of Negro girls. As measured by court and institution statistics, Southern communities have a smaller proportion of Negro delinquency than most Northern communities. In addition to the fact that there are fewer juvenile courts and children's institutions in the South and that the Southern Negroes are mainly rural while most Northern Negroes reside in cities, this situation is explained on the basis of difference in attitude toward the Negro in the two sections. In the South the Negro is tolerated in certain petty offenses to a greater degree than in the North, and the dominant whites exhibit much less concern over the moral development of Negro children than of white. By contrast, in all-Negro communities such as Mound Bayou, Mississippi, the crime and delinquency rates are much lower than in white-dominated areas.

Cultural inferiority, economic pressure, racial antagonisms—all play an important part in Negro delinquency as in adult crime. It has long been demonstrated that the delinquency rate is higher among children who come from broken homes, demoralizing home conditions, homes of low economic and educational status

and in which a high proportion of the mothers are gainfully employed, from disadvantaged areas and deteriorating neighborhoods, from sections where facilities for recreation are lacking and where there is little or no social welfare provision. All these conditions apply with much greater force to the Negroes than to any other group in our population. The City-wide Citizens Committee on Harlem which reported in 1942 on its investigation of crime and delinquency among Negroes asserted that poverty plus discrimination plus crowding equals crime. It recommended a campaign to reduce discrimination in employment; construct more low-rent housing; provide additional social service for Negro children and more adequate probationary and psychiatric care in the courts and schools for Negro children at the beginning of their delinquency careers; extend playground, park, and community-center facilities; establish additional correctional institutions; and increase the number of Negro officers on the police force. It stated that Negro crime and delinquency cannot be substantially decreased by any remedies short of large-scale social reconstruction.

The position of Negroes before the bar of justice has recently been improved through a number of decisions of the United States Supreme Court, which have extended to them the constitutional right of all citizens to trials conducted according to due process. In 1932 the court ordered a new trial for the seven Negro defendants in the Scottsboro, Alabama, case, who had been charged with the crime of raping two white girls and on whom the death penalty had been imposed. The judgments had been affirmed by the State Supreme Court. Seven members of the United States Supreme Court joined in the opinion handed down by Justice Sutherland, asserting that the Negroes had been denied the right of counsel. In 1938 the court set aside the conviction of a Negro in Kentucky on the ground of exclusion of Negroes from the jury. Reversals had previously been won in the state supreme courts of Arkansas and Oklahoma on the same ground. In 1940 Justice Black for the United States Supreme Court opined that the confessions wrung from four Negro defendants convicted in Florida of the murder of a white storekeeper had been obtained in gross violation of the guarantees of civil rights provided by the Constitution. These and similar decisions have dared

to apply to Negroes the basic principle that all people must stand on equality before the bar of justice in every American court.

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CHAPTER 13

NEGRO SUFFRAGE

The question of Negro suffrage could only arise with emancipation. The slave was not even a citizen. The free Negro, as we have seen, suffered many disabilities and only in some Northern states was he permitted to vote. At the time of the Civil War only six states, all in the North, made no discrimination in suffrage: Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin. In addition, New York permitted Negroes to vote but imposed a special property qualification on them. At the time of the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment there were still many Northern states that restricted suffrage to white persons.

The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, adopted in 1865, abolished slavery. The Fourteenth Amendment, ratified in 1868, extended citizenship to the Negroes by providing that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." It further provided that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law." This amendment did not give the Negroes the right to vote, which is a privilege conferred by the state, but it did provide that when the right to vote is denied to any citizen, except as a penalty for crime, in any state, "the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State." The Fifteenth Amendment, which went into effect in 1870, undertook to safeguard further the right of Negro suffrage. It provided that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servi-

tude." It should be noted again that this amendment does not confer the right of suffrage; it provides only against discrimination on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

THE "NEW RECONSTRUCTION"

Negro suffrage prevailed in the South during Reconstruction but only because it was backed by military force. One of the purposes of the Congressional plan of Reconstruction was to reorganize the Southern states on the basis of Negro suffrage. Negroes voted extensively and held various state offices, and a number served in Congress. The whites tried by various extra-legal means to reduce or eliminate the Negro vote, which to them became the symbol of the humiliation of the South. These efforts were replaced after 1890 by legal and permanent methods which led to the practical disappearance of Negro suffrage. Amendments to the state constitutions were adopted restricting the franchise and yet conforming to the United States Constitution. Such laws were passed by Mississippi in 1890; South Carolina, 1895; Louisiana, 1898; North Carolina, 1900; Alabama and Virginia, 1901; Georgia, 1908; and Oklahoma, 1910. These laws restricted the suffrage by requiring payment of taxes or ownership of property or ability to read and understand the Constitution. If the poll-tax requirement is included, then Tennessee, 1870, Arkansas, 1892, and Texas, 1903, should be added to the list. The latter two also have the "white primary," which will be discussed later, a device which has prevailed generally in the South except for Tennessee, Kentucky, and parts of North Carolina and Virginia. With certain exceptions—notably the white primary—these laws have stood the test of the Federal court. Although they disqualify tens of thousands of whites, they apply much more stringently to Negroes. Their net effect has been to secure a white electorate and hence white officeholders and white representatives in Congress. From the Southern standpoint these measures constituted the "New Reconstruction," or the restoration of white supremacy.

The substance of these laws restricting suffrage is that the prospective voter must have paid his taxes and then, in order to register, must own a certain amount of property (usually 40 acres or \$300) or must be able to pass an educational test (usually to read and write the Constitution in English). The educational

requirements are administered in a discriminatory way. Myrdal (p. 484) reports that "relatively seldom is a white man 'insulted' by being given the test; yet many cases have been recorded where a Negro 'failed' the test when he mispronounced a single word. Even professors at Tuskegee and other Negro universities have been disfranchised by failing to pass these tests." In a few instances there is also an "understanding and good character" clause whereby an individual, if he is of good character and understands the duties and obligations of citizenship, may vote though he cannot pass the property or educational tests. In a deliberate attempt to rule out Negro voters but at the same time not to disqualify too many whites, some seven states had a provision permitting a person not able to satisfy the educational or property tests to continue as a voter for life if he was a voter in 1866 or an old soldier or the lineal descendant of such voter or soldier, provided that he registered prior to a certain date. This was the famous "grandfather clause" which was held unconstitutional in 1915 in a Supreme Court decision involving Oklahoma. Since Negroes were not eligible to vote before 1866, the law was clearly discriminatory. In an effort to circumvent the decision, the state of Oklahoma passed a statute in 1916, re-enacted in 1932, requiring all persons eligible to register to do so within twelve days or to be barred from registering thereafter. However, the statute also provided that all those who voted in 1914 were automatically registered. Since Negroes were disfranchised by the grandfather clause in 1914, they were disfranchised by the new act. In 1939 the United States Supreme Court declared this new act unconstitutional.

These are the legal or pseudolegal methods of restricting Negro suffrage in the South. In addition there are other methods such as trickery and intimidation, discrimination in the enforcement of the laws, and the pressure of public opinion. During an election in a Florida city, for example, there were separate booths for whites and Negroes, all administered by white officials. While the white lines moved quickly, the Negro lines moved so slowly that most of the would-be voters, after standing in line all day, were unable to get in to vote. In one instance in Louisiana Negroes attempting to register were required to give their age exactly as to years, months, weeks, and days and were disqualified if unable to do so. White registrars frequently hide themselves or the books

when Negroes apply or state that the registration book is at some other place. Another trick is to allow Negroes to register only on one day. The story is told of a Northern white man who asked a Southern Negro if he could vote. "Oh, yes, sir, I can vote all right—that is, I can vote if I can get registered, but I have been trying to get registered for the past ten years, and I'm always just too late or just too early." In some cases Negro aspirants are tested as to their knowledge of the Constitution. In one instance a Negro, being asked what is meant by the four kinds of *ex post facto* laws as set forth in the case of *Calder v. Bull*, replied: "Boss, Ah guess dat means us niggers don't vote." If a Negro tries to vote in a section of the South where white opinion is strongly opposed, he runs the risk of losing his place in the community, being forced to move away, of having his property damaged and his life threatened. There are numerous instances of Negroes who attempted to register or vote being driven away, beaten up, or killed. More generally the opposition takes the form of intimidation. For example, a Negro went to the registration booth in his county and asked if he could register. The white official replied: "Oh, yes, you can register, but I want to tell you something. Some God-damn niggers are going to get killed about this voting business yet." Intended to terrorize Negro citizens who might seek to vote in the primaries in Dennison, Texas, in the fall of 1932, handbills were scattered throughout the town, reading as follows:

NIGGER!

The white people do not want you to vote Saturday.

Do not make the Ku Klux Klan take a hand.

Do you remember what happened two years ago, May 9th? George Hughes was burned to death, the county courthouse destroyed . . . "For good reason."

Riots on election day in which both whites and Negroes have been killed have occurred in various sections of the South.

THE POLL TAX

The two legal devices restricting suffrage in the South which have recently received the greatest challenge are the poll tax and the white primary. As of 1948, seven states in the Union, all of them in the South—Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, South Caro-

lina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia—make the payment of the poll tax a prerequisite to the franchise. Four other Southern states have recently repealed their poll-tax laws—North Carolina in 1921, Louisiana in 1934, Florida in 1937, and Georgia in 1945. The Tennessee legislature also repealed the poll-tax requirement in 1943, but the state Supreme Court held the repealing statute unconstitutional.

The poll-tax laws, most of them enacted in the period between 1890 and 1910, were passed for two main reasons: first, to eliminate the Negro from politics after Reconstruction; second, to crush the radical agrarian movement which swept the West and parts of the South in the 1890's and the 1900's. The Populist movement threatened for a time to unite the poor white and black masses against the ruling class in the South. In Georgia and Alabama, where the Populist movement was very strong, the poll-tax laws were the most severe. The application of this tax, which keeps about half of the whites and nearly all the Negroes from voting, marked the beginning of the Southern oligarchy that continues to hold sway in the seven poll-tax states.

The poll tax is a voluntary payment, not a tax in the sense of a levy whose collection is enforced. It consists of a tax of from one dollar to two dollars which must be paid annually in order to vote. In most of the states it used to be cumulative. It is now cumulative in Mississippi for two years, in Virginia for three years, and in Alabama for twenty-four years or the period of liability which ranges from twenty-one to forty-five years of age. In these remaining instances, not only must arrears be paid, but frequently interest is added. Thus it may be necessary to pay as much as thirty to forty dollars in order to vote. Moreover, in four states the tax must be paid six to ten months ahead; that means it comes due long in advance of voting day, at a time when few people are thinking of the election. Some states require that the receipt for the payment of the tax be produced when one votes; some require receipts for the preceding two or three years; while others, like Alabama, insist on receipts for every year since attaining voting age.

These sums may not appear large, but to the sharecropper, for instance, whose average annual cash income is less than a hundred dollars, they are prohibitive. The poll tax does not produce much revenue, nor does it act as a qualitative guarantee for electors.

It is openly admitted in every state that a large number, in some cases a majority, of the poll-tax receipts are paid for by politicians who hold them and vote them wholesale. The poll tax is only partially a racial question; fundamentally, it is a weapon against progressive politics, a device to maintain the *status quo*, an instrument for perpetuating control by a minority composed of the local middle class, Northern commercial and industrial interests, and local political machines. In the 1932 presidential election only 22.2 per cent of the adult citizens in the poll-tax states voted as compared with 70.7 per cent in the other states. In the 1936 election the percentages were 22 as against 72; in the 1940 elections 21.1 as against 70.6; in the 1944 election 19 as against 57. Thus in the poll-tax states hardly one out of four qualified voters cast a ballot as compared with almost three out of four in the other states of the union. While the rest of the country casts approximately 100,000 votes in electing each of its Congressmen, the poll-tax states elect theirs with about 30,000 votes each. Because of this situation the tenure of Congressmen from these states is unduly lengthened, and through seniority they come to hold a disproportionate number of committee chairmanships in both House and Senate. As of 1944 no less than eighteen Congressmen from poll-tax states had been perpetuated in office for more than twenty years, and by virtue of seniority they held chairmanships of 17 of the 47 standing House committees and second-ranking positions on 11 others. In the Senate, poll-tax Senators presided over 10 of the 33 standing committees and had twice their share on other Senate committees. Wielding a large influence on national affairs, these Congressional committee chairmen obstruct social and labor legislation and favor discriminatory laws which injure not only the South but the citizens of all states.

Along with the one-party system and the white primary, the poll tax has reduced democracy to a mere travesty in the South and perpetuated a form of economic feudalism. It is easy for a man who owes his election to only a small minority of the people of his state to represent the interests of that minority to the exclusion of the rest. Where the voting class is small, it can readily become dominated by vested interests anxious to maintain the *status quo*. Much of the voting is carried on with a corruption and disrespect for law that is found in few other areas of the country.

Since the New Reconstruction began, Southern politics has remained provincial and reactionary, "with statesmanship all too rare and quacks and clowns holding the spotlight." A liberal Southern publicist, Virginius Dabney, has stated (*Below the Potomac*, p. 115): "Nearly every notorious political mountebank who has arisen in the twentieth century has been chosen by a poll-taxes electorate." In fact, the Negroes who represented the South in Congress during Reconstruction compare more than favorably with the white representatives from poll-tax states since the restoration of white supremacy. Consider, for example, the respective merits of two Mississippi Senators: one, Theodore G. Bilbo (1935 to 1947) and the other a former slave, Blanche K. Bruce (1875 to 1881). Concerning the lag of the South in progressive measures, Myrdal (p. 456) has well stated:

All modern reform movements which have penetrated the rest of the country and gradually changed American society—woman suffrage and economic equality, collective bargaining, labor legislation, progressive education, child welfare, civil service reform, police and court reform, prison reform—have, until recently, hardly touched the greater part of the South except in so far as the Federal government has imposed them from the outside. In particular, there has been no active participation of the masses. Recently they have become the interest of the upper class liberals around the universities and other cultural centers. . . . Social reform is now coming rapidly to the South, but it is coming mainly from Washington. For a hundred years this region, which played such an important and distinguished role in the American Revolution and in the early history of the Republic, has not contributed to the nation anything approaching its fair share of fresh political thinking and forward-looking political initiative in national issues. It has, on the whole, served as a reactionary drag against the forces of change and progress.

This political conservatism is directly tied up with the Negro problem in several ways. The devices inaugurated to disfranchise Negroes, the one-party system, the low political participation on the part of the white masses, and other peculiarities of Southern politics—all tend to give a disproportionate power to classes, groups, and individuals who feel their interests tied up with conservatism in social issues. But there is also a more direct connection between Southern conservatism and the Negro problem. For constitutional and other reasons, social reform measures will have to include Negroes, and this is resented. The conservative opponents of reform proposals can usually discredit

them by pointing out that they will improve the status of the Negroes, and that they prepare for "social equality." This argument has been raised in the South against labor unions, child labor legislation, and practically every other proposal for reform.

A movement, endorsed by Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, has been carried on to abolish the poll tax. The poll tax is being fought on three separate fronts: (1) Bills have been introduced in both Houses of Congress to abolish the poll tax in Federal elections. Such a bill has passed the House on three occasions but has been killed in the Senate by a filibuster by Southern Senators. (2) State campaigns are being carried on to repeal the poll tax in each poll-tax state. These have the support of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the Southern Regional Council, the Committee of Editors and Writers of the South, and other local liberal groups. (3) Court proceedings are being instituted to test the constitutionality of the poll tax as applied to Federal elections and to challenge the Congressional Apportionment Act.

THE WHITE PRIMARY

The most effective way by which Negroes have been excluded from voting in the South is the so-called white primary whereby no Negro is permitted to vote in a party election. Until the United States Supreme Court ruled against it in 1944, the Democratic white primary was enforced rigidly in all Southern states except Kentucky, Tennessee, and a few counties of Virginia and North Carolina. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People contested the white-primary system in the courts in a series of cases involving the state of Texas. In 1923 Texas passed a law which stated among other things that "in no event shall a Negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic party primary election held in the state of Texas." Under the system of one-party dominance in Southern states, where candidates for office are virtually elected in the primaries, to debar the Negroes from a primary election is in effect to disfranchise them. In 1927 in *Nixon v. Herndon* the United States Supreme Court, by a unanimous opinion, declared this law unconstitutional and a violation of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. The Texas legislature then placed the power to fix qualifications for voters in the hands of the Democratic party's executive committee, which proceeded to bar colored voters from the primaries. In 1932 in

the case of *Nixon v. Condon* the United States Supreme Court in a 5 to 4 decision set aside this law, holding that it constituted the committee as an agent of the state. Texas Democrats then tried a new device: the Democratic State Convention in May, 1932, adopted a resolution to the effect that only whites were members of the party. In 1935 in a unanimous decision (*Grovey v. Townsend*) the United States Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of this procedure on the ground that the party "was a voluntary organization and was competent to decide its membership." It further stated that the managers of a primary election are not state officers and that the state party convention was not an instrumentality or agency of the state. This decision recalls the early ruling in the restrictive covenant cases, whereby private individuals or organizations may accomplish what the state or official agencies may not do. The effect, however, was the same, leading in the one case to residential segregation and in the other to denial of the right of suffrage. Also, as in the restrictive covenant situation, the Supreme Court later reversed its stand.

The first step leading to an overruling of the *Grovey v. Townsend* decision occurred in 1941 when the United States Supreme Court held that the Federal government has the power to regulate primaries in states if the selection of members of Congress is involved. The case under consideration (*United States v. Classic*) was one in which the appellants were not Negroes; it involved the question of fraud in New Orleans. The opinion stated: "The right to vote in a Congressional election is a right secured by the Constitution. . . . The right to participate through the primary in the choice of representatives in Congress—a right clearly secured by the Constitution—is . . . the same . . . as the right to vote at the general election." The second and final step was taken in 1944 when the Supreme Court ruled by 8 to 1 in a decision of far-reaching significance (*Smith v. Allwright*) that the Democratic party of Texas was an agency of the state insofar as it determined the participants in a primary election, and hence its exclusionary action was unconstitutional as a violation of the Fifteenth Amendment.

The reaction of the white-primary states to this epochal decision varied. Texas and Louisiana immediately abandoned the white primary, and Negroes voted in the 1944 election in considerable numbers for the first time since Reconstruction. South

Carolina tried to evade the decision by repealing all state laws regulating primaries and by declaring the party a private club. A Federal district court in South Carolina, however, reaffirmed the principles of the *Allwright* case and refused to sanction the white primary in its new disguise; and the United States Supreme Court in 1948 dealt the final death blow by refusing to review the lower court ruling which held the new election machinery illegal. The Arkansas legislature passed an act which set up separate primaries for state and Federal offices and barred Negroes from voting for state officials in Democratic primaries. Florida, Alabama, and Georgia abandoned the white primary after efforts to keep it were defeated by court action. Alabama then adopted the Boswell Amendment to its state constitution, stiffening the requirements for voting and setting up qualifications which can be administered in a discriminatory manner. This provision required that all would-be voters must be "of good character" and able to "read, write, understand and explain any article of the Constitution of the United States." In 1949 the United States Supreme Court upheld a lower court decision which invalidated Alabama's disfranchising Boswell Amendment. Mississippi officially abandoned the white primary in 1946, and the legislature passed a law establishing new qualifications for voters such as being "of good moral character" and in accord "with the time-honored and cherished traditions of the South." The new law decrees that all voters must certify agreement with party principles as set forth by the state Democratic executive committee, which include opposition to Federal anti-lynching and anti-poll-tax legislation and to the Fair Employment Practice Commission.

Why do not Southern Negroes vote in Republican primaries? One answer is that in most of the states of the deep South there are no Republican primaries, the law providing that any party not polling a certain number of votes shall not hold primaries. Another reason is that those who control the Republican party in these states do not want primaries. The Republican party in the deep South is not a political party; it is a small officeholding oligarchy. It is small enough to give rise to certain quips, such as, "The Republican party in South Carolina fell and broke his leg last week," and "A man in Mississippi ran for Congress in one of the districts as a Republican; he received two votes; the authorities arrested him for repeating." The Republican bosses are not

interested in building up the party but in helping to elect a Republican President and in turn to receive the Federal jobs in the South. A strong party would develop too much competition for these positions and would lead to sharing them with the Negroes. So the party tends to become small and "Lily-white," excluding Negroes not only from the party but from political life generally. An interesting sidelight on this political situation is contained in the case of the late Walter L. Cohen, a Negro Republican of New Orleans who was appointed by President Harding to the office of Controller of Customs. A bitter fight was waged against him by both Democrats and Republicans, and he was twice rejected by the Senate before being confirmed for the post in 1924 by a vote of 39 to 38. In discussing with President Harding the opposition to him, Cohen said: "I suppose the Ku Klux Klan is behind it. My father was a Jew, my mother a mulatto, and she raised me a Catholic; so I arouse all three of their pet antipathies."

On various occasions bills have been introduced in Congress invoking the provision of the Fourteenth Amendment for reducing the representation of the Southern states in proportion to the number of voters excluded. As a countermove, resolutions have been offered to amend the Constitution by apportioning representation in the House on the basis of the number of citizens and not of inhabitants, thus excluding all aliens, located primarily in the North, from computation. Nothing has come of such moves nor is anything likely to, but attention is being increasingly called to the extraordinarily small percentage of eligible voters in the South. Removal of the poll-tax laws, as indicated earlier, would greatly increase the number of voters and would give a broader basis to representation in Congress, and it is more likely to succeed than invoking the penalty clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

DISFRANCHISEMENT IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

An anomalous situation due in large part to the racial question is that in the District of Columbia, the seat of the national government, no citizen has the right of suffrage. Formerly the residents of the district had the vote, and in 1867 Congress passed a bill over the President's veto extending suffrage to the Negroes in the district. The results were disturbing, and Congress a few years later solved the problem by disfranchising the whole population. Since 1878 the District of Columbia has been governed by three

commissioners appointed by Congress. The district can send no representative to Congress; it has no vote as to what taxes it shall pay or how the money shall be spent. Its citizens are completely deprived of all political rights. Movements have sprung up to restore suffrage and representation but have floundered on the shoals of the race question. The Negroes constitute 28.2 per cent of the population (187,266 in a total population of 663,091 in 1940) and might hold the balance of power, especially since many of the whites are government employees preserving their voting residence in their home state. Washington follows the Southern pattern in its attitude toward Negroes. The District of Columbia maintains separate schools, separate playgrounds, and separate recreational centers. It has a separate fire company. It segregates by race the inmates of its hospitals and welfare and penal institutions. Racial segregation or discrimination is the rule in some governmental departments, in the theaters, hotels, and eating places as well as in the educational system. Whatever exceptions may exist serve only to make more conspicuous the general rule.

THE EXTENT OF NEGRO SUFFRAGE IN THE SOUTH

Where there are two political parties in the South, as in Tennessee, Kentucky, Oklahoma, and parts of Virginia and North Carolina, a considerable number of Negroes vote in all elections. In most of the South, however, there is just one party, and the suffrage laws and administration operate to debar most of the Negroes from political activity. Negro suffrage has been greatly extended, however, comparatively speaking, since the Supreme Court outlawed the white primary in 1944. Accurate information is lacking as to the total number of Negro voters in the South, but estimates of the number prior to 1944 run from 50,000 to 100,000. Since that date the Negro has voted with comparative freedom for the first time since Reconstruction in Texas, Arkansas, and Georgia. In a state-wide primary in Georgia in 1946 an estimated 100,000 Negroes voted. A noteworthy increase in the number of Negroes who have registered and voted is reported also for Florida. For the first time in the history of these states the Negro vote is being sought by Democratic candidates and political groups. Negroes are also appearing for the first time since Reconstruction as candidates for office. In 1947 a Negro was elected alderman in Winston-Salem, winning against a white

opponent. In 1948 a Negro was elected to the new nine-man council of Richmond, Virginia. In the more hidebound states, such as South Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi, Negro suffrage remains about as restricted as formerly, although about 35,000 Negroes were allowed to vote for the first time in South Carolina in 1948. According to a survey made in 1947 by the Southern Regional Council under the direction of Prof. Luther P. Jackson (p. 3), about 610,000 of the 5,069,085 Negroes of voting age in 12 Southern states were at that time qualified to vote.

The actual situation regarding the Negro's political status in the South varies not only from state to state but from local community to local community. For example, in central Texas, where the Negroes are few in number and mostly artisans, they are accorded a voice in local affairs. In San Antonio a larger percentage of Negroes vote than of whites. One of their race was for two decades the city's most powerful political figure. In southeastern Texas, however, where Negroes comprise more than a quarter of the population, they are as much out of the political picture as they are in the delta district of Mississippi. In Memphis, the Crump machine for some time has marched Negroes to the polls. In an attempt to counteract Crump's influence, Democrats in Nashville and Chattanooga relaxed their former white-primary rule. With the eastern half of the state traditionally Republican, the Negro has a much easier time getting a vote in Tennessee than in any other part of the South save Kentucky. In the latter state a Negro has even been elected to the legislature. He is Charles W. Anderson, Jr., a graduate of Howard University and an attorney, whose service as an assemblyman has been highly praised. As the first Negro to be elected to a Southern legislature since the Reconstruction era, his successive re-elections and his excellent record are significant. He has won the respect of his white colleagues, and although he is a Republican, leading white Democrats of the state speak of his public service as extremely impressive and constructive.

For many years from two to five thousand Negroes have voted in Atlanta city elections. Relatively large numbers of them have cast ballots in Durham and Raleigh, North Carolina, and in Richmond, Virginia, without more than a ripple of protest. On the other hand, in May 1939, in the midst of a reform campaign in Miami, Florida, when Negroes seized the opportunity to register

and vote (never more than fifty had voted before), the Ku Klux Klan rode through the Negro section of town distributing leaflets and twirling a suggestive hangman's noose. At 25 street corners they ignited fiery crosses. From a pole they hung a black effigy labeled "This nigger voted." Undaunted by the threats and with the assurance of some white officials that their right to vote would be safeguarded more than a thousand Negroes cast their ballots. Shortly thereafter the Florida state legislature passed a bill limiting the right to vote in Miami elections in the following language: ". . . and said elector shall be a member of the Caucasian race." In Spartanburg, South Carolina, when some sixty Negroes, mostly women, registered in 1939 for the city's general elections, newspapers in that section of the state wrote excited editorials and the Ku Klux Klan sent out a warning: "The Klan will ride again!" George C. Stoney (p. 205) explains the difference in these local elections as follows: "In the first group of cities—Atlanta, Durham, Raleigh, Richmond—the Negroes were introduced to the ballot by the regular city political machine, which needed them when contests had become close. In the last two cities—Miami and Spartanburg—Negroes themselves organized the registration movement."

Even in those places where the Negro vote has been brought about solely for machine purposes, some direct benefits have resulted. In the cities in Tennessee Negroes have received representation on the police force, improved streets in their residential sections, and more equal treatment as regards sanitation and health facilities. Though the Negro vote in Miami was an independent one, direct improvements in city services were seen almost immediately. In Louisville, Kentucky, where Negroes play an active part in municipal government, Negroes are employed as firemen, policemen, and schoolteachers, receiving equal pay for equal work, have representation on local boards and commissions, and have shared in the public housing projects and increased recreational facilities. Thus encouraged, similar Negro-inspired movements to register have taken place in other communities, notably in Winston-Salem, Greensboro, New Orleans, Little Rock, and most successfully of all, in Birmingham. The increased registration of Negro voters will bring about not only a more equitable share in the public services but increased representation of their inter-

ests and greater protection of their rights. *The Crisis* (July, 1946) comments editorially:

In home areas, can one imagine a lynching taking place in a county where the sheriff knows there are, say, 2,000 registered Negro voters? A governor who knows there are 150,000 to 250,000 registered Negro voters in the state will see that his legislature and his state board of education are fair in their distribution of school funds. And so it will go in all matters affecting the welfare of citizens. It will not happen overnight, nor in this one election. The Negroes and the whites will make mistakes, and correction of abuses will be delayed, but the handwriting is on the wall: a new day is here for American democracy.

ATTITUDE OF THE SOUTH TOWARD NEGRO SUFFRAGE

In general the South's point of view regarding Negro suffrage is one of determined opposition, and the Negroes, with some recent exceptions, have been effectively excluded. One reason for this situation is the desire to preserve the oligarchic control that characterizes many sections of the South; another is the attitude that Negro suffrage would mean potential social equality; still more important is the desire to maintain white supremacy. The whites have long looked on the exclusion of the Negroes from politics as a measure of self-defense. There are a number of counties in the South where Negroes outnumber the whites, and there are other sections where the Negroes are sufficiently numerous to hold the balance of power if the whites should split on any political issue. As to actual political views, the South is no more "solid" than the North; it is only the Negro question which makes it appear so. Another reason frequently advanced is that the Negroes must be excluded because they are so uneducated and inexperienced. This, however, is merely a rationalization, for there are laws restricting the illiterate and irresponsible from voting. A successfully functioning democracy must be based upon a reasonably informed electorate. What the Negroes are asking is merely that the laws be applied impartially. There are great numbers of Negroes in the South fully capable of passing the literacy test who are nevertheless excluded. The demagogic point of view is that the Negro should not vote no matter what his accomplishments might be. Senator Vardaman, for instance, stated from the Senate floor: "God Almighty never intended that the Negro should share with the white man in the government of this coun-

try; and you cannot improve upon the plans of God Almighty or defeat His purposes, either, by legislative enactments."

The apologists for the virtual disfranchisement of the Negro in the South frequently state that the Negroes do not vote because they have lost interest in politics, that they care nothing for the "sacred right of suffrage." Some Negroes themselves have complained about the political apathy of the colored people in the South. But this situation, to the extent that it exists, is a natural reaction of futility resulting from their almost complete exclusion. That the Southern Negro is not apathetic about politics is demonstrated by the behavior of Southern migrants to Northern communities where they are free to exercise their political rights. The most that can be said in favor of the New Reconstruction policy of disfranchising the Negroes is that, viewed historically, it probably reduced political corruption and certainly lessened race friction.

On the other hand, Southern liberals are aware that the traditional point of view that no Negro should vote under any circumstances cannot endure, and their attitude is reinforced by recent Supreme Court decisions which have opened up political vistas to the Negro. For example, Virginius Dabney (*Liberalism in the South*, pp. 253-254) states:

There is a growing school of thought in the South which holds that any man, no matter what his race, who is qualified to vote ought to be permitted to vote and that it is wholly unjust for election officials to disqualify thousands of Negroes arbitrarily while permitting other thousands of white illiterates to troop to the polls. It is the view of this element that an educated and respectable Negro is a greater asset to the community and more deserving of the franchise than an unlettered white swineherd from the pine barrens. It cannot be said that this view is held by anything remotely approaching a majority of the Southern whites, but it undoubtedly is gaining in favor. As Reconstruction and its atrocities recede further and further into the background, more and more white Southerners are coming to feel that the cry of "white supremacy," raised so often in the past, is in the twentieth century a mere rawhead and bloodybones without substance or meaning.

There is evidence from many sections of the South that the race issue no longer has its old-time political appeal. A lot has happened since Reconstruction days to change Southern attitudes.

Chief among these basic forces and trends, as ably summarized by Professor William G. Carleton, have been:

... the steady decline of the Negro population in relation to the white, the softening influence of education, the growing sense of Negro responsibility, the growing consciousness that the poor white man and the poor black man share many economic problems in common, the growth of New Deal ideas in spite of protestations to the contrary, the broadening influence of membership in mixed unions, and participation in two world wars for democracy within a single generation.

To this should be added the rapid rate of industrialization in the South and increasing urbanization. The importance of these developments for the Negro problem promises to be considerable.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION OF NEGROES IN THE NORTH

In the North the Negroes not only vote in about the same proportion as the whites but are increasingly holding public office. The great increase in the number of Negroes due to the northward migration in recent decades has made them a political force to be reckoned with. The political situation of the Negroes in the North is completely the reverse of that in the South. Whereas in the deep South there is not a single member of the legislature, a single judicial officer, or a single member of the city council who is colored, a large and increasing range of state and city offices are held by Northern Negroes. This trend has been marked since 1930. Negroes have been elected to the state legislatures of California, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Vermont, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. Among these Negro state legislators Democrats are as prominent, if not more so, than Republicans. As a rule they represent Negro districts, but in the case of Nebraska the Negro elected to the new unicameral legislature of that state in 1936, John Adams, Jr., lawyer of Omaha, was opposed by a white man and elected by white voters. Negroes have also been elected or appointed to various state commissions and boards. Elective or appointive positions in the public service are held by Negroes in every major city of the North. These include such offices as city councilmen, judges, prosecuting attorneys, members of the board of educa-

tion, Civil Service Commissions, and other official bodies. In addition many Negroes hold civil service jobs in the police, fire, public works, and other departments.

The present political strength of the Negroes in the North is the result of a process whereby, as the Negroes became more numerous and concentrated and conscious of their growing political power, they have developed more group solidarity and political independence. For a long time the Negroes blindly voted Republican and hesitated to aspire to public office. The Republicans felt sure of the Negro vote, the Democrats did not expect it; thus neither party expressed any concern over the Negro vote or Negro welfare. Spurred on by their leaders, the Negroes began to vote for candidates on racial lines—on how they stood on questions affecting Negroes—and became more united than other groups on issues placed before the electorate. The increasing race prejudice of the whites was also a factor in developing Negro solidarity. Negro political leaders found themselves in a position to bargain for favors. The Negroes ceased to be a political pawn and to follow traditional party allegiance; the Negro vote could be swung to either major party.

Despite this racial solidarity and primary concern with its own welfare, the Negroes have displayed very little tendency to listen to the political and economic appeals of radical groups, even though these have made a definite bid for Negro support. The Socialist party has offered to the Negro drastic anti-lynching legislation and "the enactment and enforcement of Constitutional guarantees of economic, political, and legal equality for the Negro." In the Communist platform, "equal rights for Negroes" has been one of the major planks, and one of its candidates has been a Negro. In fact, American Communists, particularly vocal during the depression when they campaigned for Negro support, so completely obliterated the color bar within their own party ranks that they blocked any chance they might have had to attract any considerable number of white voters. Despite these efforts the mass of the Negroes as well as their leaders have been in the main conservative on political and economic questions. Though they have not enjoyed full equality, they have been conditioned in the American political tradition and look forward to the attainment of their full rights under the Constitution. Moreover, the unpopularity of Communism in America makes it

especially unattractive to Negroes, for as one of them explained, "It is bad enough being black without also being red."

The two most active centers of Negro political expression in the North are Chicago and New York. In Chicago Negroes have been elected to both houses of the state legislature, have been appointed to various state commissions, and hold a long list of municipal offices as judge, assistant prosecutor, councilmen, assistant corporation counsels, etc. In 1928 the public was surprised and a little disconcerted when the Republicans of the First Congressional District of Illinois, which is situated in Chicago, elected a Negro, Oscar DePriest, to Congress, the first colored Congressman since the turn of the century. Still more surprising, six years later a Negro, Arthur W. Mitchell, was elected from the same district on the Democratic ticket to succeed the Republican DePriest. This shattered all traditions. The election of Mitchell as the first Negro Democratic Congressman in the history of the United States was an event of greater national than local importance. It signified that Northern Democrats had given national recognition to the place of Negroes in their party; the Democratic caucus in the House of Representatives was compelled to admit a Negro; and the Republican party could no longer claim that it had the Negro vote in its vest pocket. In 1942 Mitchell was succeeded by another Negro Democratic Congressman, William L. Dawson. It is significant that the Republican and Democratic Congressmen from Chicago were presumably elected by the votes of Negro migrants from the South, voters who at home had been effectively dispossessed of the franchise and who were alleged to be apathetic about politics. These migrants were organized into the political machine, as had happened earlier in the case of various immigrant nationalities. Politics became an important method by which the Negro sought to change his status, and residential segregation operated to enhance his political power because it made possible voting in a bloc.

In New York the outstanding event with respect to the Negroes in politics is their transfer of allegiance from the Republican to the Democratic party. The move on the part of the Democratic party to secure Negro support was inaugurated in 1898 by the establishment of the Tammany Hall United Colored Democracy. Under the leadership of Richard Croker and later of Charles F. Murphy, Tammany Hall decreed political and civic equality

for the Negro in New York. Results were not rapidly achieved. It was not until 1917 that a Democratic candidate for mayor, John F. Hylan, received a majority of the colored vote. In 1918 Alfred E. Smith, candidate for governor, received about 40 per cent of the Negro vote; in 1924 he received a large majority. By 1930 the allegiance of the Negroes to the Republican party in New York was completely broken, and in city, state, and national elections the majority of Negroes in New York have been definitely Democratic. With the exception of Kansas City, where the Negroes were forced into the ranks of the Democratic party through the hostile attitude of Republicans, New York is the only large city in which a majority of the colored vote is regularly Democratic. In 1944 New York elected its first Negro Congressman, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., who appeared simultaneously on three party tickets: Democratic, Republican, and American Labor Party. Next to Chicago, New York leads in the number of Negro officeholders, the most outstanding being judges in the city court.

THE NEGRO IN NATIONAL POLITICS

In national politics prior to 1912 no serious effort was made by the Democratic party to secure the Negro vote. That was the year of the insurgence of Theodore Roosevelt—one of the three Presidents since Abraham Lincoln who followed a liberal policy toward the Negro, the other two being Grover Cleveland and Franklin D. Roosevelt—against the Old Guard of the Republican party, and the time seemed propitious for such an effort. A colored campaign bureau was established which carried out an intelligent program, but the results were negligible. Even in New York City less than 5 per cent of the colored vote went to President Wilson. So discouraging were the results that in 1916 and in 1920 the National Democratic Committee made little or no effort to secure the colored vote. In 1924, however, efforts in this direction were resumed upon a more or less elaborate scale, and an appreciable colored vote was given to John W. Davis, the Democratic candidate for President, in New Jersey, West Virginia, Ohio, Illinois, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Indiana. In New York City he received about 25 per cent of the Negro vote. Stimulated by these results, the Democratic party in 1928 launched an elaborate campaign among colored voters. For the

first time in its history, it nominated that year a candidate for President whose personality and achievements made a strong appeal to the Negro citizen, Alfred E. Smith. In New York City he got about 40 per cent of the colored vote, while the returns were encouraging in Maryland, Missouri, and Michigan in addition to the states mentioned above that had given Mr. Davis an appreciable vote.

In 1932 President Franklin D. Roosevelt received about the same colored vote which Governor Smith had received in 1928. In no state outside of New York did either of these candidates receive in excess of 15 per cent of the colored vote. In the 1936 election, however, Mr. Roosevelt received 70 to 80 per cent of the votes of Northern Negroes. The Negroes had come generally to feel that the President was genuinely and sincerely devoted to the principle of equal rights for the Negro and that the continuance of the New Deal policies assured them of at least subsistence. Through the use of relief funds and Federal patronage, accompanied by a liberal attitude toward Negro rights, the Roosevelt administration almost completely captured the Negro vote in 1940 and 1944. The wholesale transfer in 1936 and again in 1940 and 1944 of these votes from one side to the other, thus making each count two, is one of the most sensational political events of recent times. It is perhaps not too strong to say that the real political strength of the Roosevelt administration was derived from the Negroes since they held the balance of power in at least a dozen great Northern states. It is also extraordinary how the Roosevelt administration won the support of the Negroes in the North while retaining the loyalty of the white-supremacy Democrats in the South—a feat not duplicated by the Truman administration. If the support of the Southern Democrats should be lost as a result of this anomalous situation, the Democratic party could still remain in power since the electoral vote of these Northern states where the Negroes hold the balance of power is more than double that of the states of the Solid South. Thus a solid Black Belt in the North is considerably more to be desired by the Democrats than a Solid South. Moreover, if the Negroes and poor whites in the South were to be more fully enfranchised, as through the repeal of the poll tax, the Democratic and New Deal forces could more than offset in the South any loss of Lily-white votes.

On the other hand, there is some reason for thinking that the Negroes' loyalty was a personal one to Roosevelt rather than a loyalty to the Democratic party. This impression remains despite the fact that in the 1948 election the Negro vote went probably 3 to 1 for the Democratic candidate, President Truman. Nevertheless, the shift in allegiance and the demonstrated independence of the Negro vote, as well as its strategic position in politically important states, make it an object to be sought by any major political party. Walter White, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has asserted that in 17 states of the Union, with 295 electoral votes, there are enough Negro voters to swing any reasonably close election. These states are New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, Indiana, Missouri, Michigan, California, Kansas, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, Delaware, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Oklahoma. The Negro vote is of greatest significance in the first eight mentioned. Besides the condition of a close national contest, Mr. White's claim rests on the assumptions that all Negroes of voting age actually vote and that the Negro vote is perfectly organized and flexible. These are conditions almost impossible to fulfill, but potentially the situation is one of great significance. Both major political parties find it necessary to appeal to the Negro vote, and their party platforms contain planks on the race issue. The general temper of the Negro voter, fostered by organizations and institutions devoted to his advancement, is to give his support to that political party and those candidates who show by words and deeds determination to work for full citizenship status of Negroes. His vote no longer belongs to any one political party.

As a result of his increased political power, the Negro has secured more equal treatment in municipal services, increasing employment in political and civil service positions—an important outlet, especially for white-collar workers—some strengthening of the civil-rights acts, wider opportunities in industry through the Fair Employment Practice Commissions, a lessening of discrimination in the Army and Navy, and a series of favorable Supreme Court decisions affecting higher education, salaries of schoolteachers, suffrage, interstate travel, criminal justice, and other matters concerning his rights as a citizen. He has pressed for Federal anti-lynching laws, Federal aid for Negro education in the South, and repeal of the poll tax. His position is still far from one of equality, and as long as he is discriminated against on ac-

count of his race and as long as his civil rights are denied, there will continue to be a Negro vote. In such cases the objective of the colored voter will be to put in office candidates who stand right on the Negro question. There are some Negro leaders who believe that race interests have been superseded by class interests and that the Negro's status as a wage earner is of greater importance than his race consciousness. There may well be a trend in this direction, but even so it does not solve the peculiar problems of the Negro arising from race prejudice. As long as this operates to deny him his full rights as a citizen, the doctrine and practice of race solidarity will probably persist.

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CHAPTER 14

SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION

It is the Negro's lot in America to be segregated, that is, set apart or isolated from the dominant white group in America. The most conspicuous forms of racial segregation, according to Charles S. Johnson's comprehensive study *Patterns of Negro Segregation*, are in residential areas; in educational, recreational, and other public institutions; in quasi-public or privately operated institutions under public control, such as railroads, steamship lines, streetcar and bus systems, and hospitals; in private business establishments, such as hotels and restaurants; and in other private commercial and professional services, such as department stores, mortuary establishments, and doctors' offices. These are the more common and visible forms of separation; actually it pervades, in some degree or other, practically the whole range of social behavior.

Segregation, as defined by Louis Wirth, is "that form of isolation in which social distance is based upon physical separation." It may be passive, based on custom and tradition, or active, which is forced through legal sanctions. In either case it implies notions of superiority and inferiority, feelings of like and dislike, and sentiments of in-group versus out-group membership. It is applied by the dominant group against minorities; the symbols are those of caste; the segregated groups bear the stigma of inferiority and social ostracism. As applied to the Negroes, the purpose of segregation is to isolate and subordinate them. Segregation further involves discrimination, which has been defined by F. H. Hankins as the "unequal treatment of equals, either by the bestowal of favors or the imposition of burdens." Discrimination also exists when competitors are unequal and advantages disproportionate to the inequality are received. Despite the legal concept of "separate but equal accommodations" in cases of legally sanctioned segregation, the segregated facilities never have been, nor was it seriously intended that they should be, equal. "In fact," says Cor-

nelius L. Golightly, "if they are to be equal, there is no point in their being separate." Discrimination implies partiality and favoritism; it means lack of equal opportunity, of fair play, and of free competition. Although it permeates all aspects of race relations, it finds its most distinctive manifestation in segregation.

Segregative and discriminatory practices take place in two broad fields of human relations, which we may term the legal and the social, or the public field of relations that go by impersonal right and the private domain of relations that go by personal choice. The first are civil relations, the second, social relations. As the distinguished Southerner George W. Cable (p. 53) wrote, as early as 1885,

The one is all of right, it makes no difference who we are; the other is all of choice, and it makes all the difference who we are; and it is no little fault against ourselves as well as others, to make confusion between the two relations. For the one we make laws; for the other every one consults his own pleasure; and the law that refuses to protect a civil right, construing it as a social privilege, deserves no more regard than if it should declare some social privilege to be a civil right.

White Southerners, however, have consistently confused civil rights with social equality and denied the Negro the former on the ground that it might lead to the latter. Discrimination against Negroes occurs in both civil and social relations, which we will discuss in turn. It also occurs in the North as well as the South, with this important difference: whereas the Southern states have enacted laws of segregation, many Northern states have passed acts outlawing discrimination of this sort in varying degrees. These are known as civil-rights statutes.

I. LEGAL ASPECTS: THE QUESTION OF CIVIL RIGHTS

Civil rights are those rights which appertain to the person by virtue of his citizenship in a state or community. Strictly speaking, they should be distinguished from civil liberties which are the constitutional guarantees of individual liberties and of equal protection under the laws. The President's Committee on Civil Rights was actually concerned primarily with civil liberties, what it termed the rights to safety and security of the person, to citizenship and its privileges, to freedom of conscience and expression, and to equality of opportunity. The term "civil rights," on

the other hand, by usage going back to the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1875, is limited to the right of persons to accommodations in hotels, restaurants, common carriers, places of public amusement, entertainment and resort, public places of assemblage, and other places of public accommodation without discrimination. The right to a job has not been established as a civil right in America although the implication of the state fair employment practice laws is that the right to employment without discrimination is a civil right.

In 1883 the Federal Civil Rights Act was declared unconstitutional, the United States Supreme Court holding that the Constitution protects only rights which stem from Federal, as distinguished from state, citizenship and that for the protection of civil rights the citizen must look to his state. States are free to make racial distinctions without violating any constitutional guarantee or, on the other hand, to pass civil-rights laws preventing discrimination of this sort. Following this decision, 18 states, all in the North, have passed civil-rights acts of varying scope and effectiveness that clearly apply to racial discrimination. On the other hand, 20 states, Southern and border, have adopted acts compelling segregation in various relations or activities. Ten states, by inaction, have left the matter to private discretion.

STATE STATUTES PROHIBITING DISCRIMINATION

The 18 states that have enacted civil-rights statutes to prevent discrimination in these matters are California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Washington, and Wisconsin. In California the person aggrieved has only the right of civil suit; in nine states provision is made for both civil and criminal penalties; seven states provide only for criminal sanctions; in New Jersey the person aggrieved may sue for a money judgment, but the award is paid to the state. Only in New York, New Jersey, and Illinois are public officials charged with the duty of enforcing the civil-rights acts.

The statutes generally provide that there shall be no discrimination against persons because of their color or race in public conveyances, schools, places of public accommodation, and places of public amusement. The statutes vary a great deal with respect to

the number and variety of establishments specifically mentioned. For example, the Illinois and Ohio acts mention stores or other places for the sale of merchandise; 12 states specify barbershops and beauty parlors (the Connecticut court, however, has held that a barbershop is not within the statute of that state); three acts include libraries; one refers to elevators, another to escalators; three mention hospitals and clinics; and two outlaw racial discrimination by cemeteries. The state courts have interpreted the laws variously and in general have construed them narrowly. Frequent legislative amendment has been required.

Numerous suits have been won by Negroes for being excluded from theaters on the ground of color, for being ejected from buses or ordered to sit in the rear, for being denied equal accommodation on railroads and steamship lines, for being refused service in a restaurant, and for other instances of discrimination. Nevertheless, even in these civil-rights states Negroes are far from receiving full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations and facilities of public places. Where there is a law, there is a way to get around it, and proprietors have discovered numerous ways of avoiding or discouraging Negro patronage without seeming to bring the law into question. "There are no theater tickets left except in the second gallery." "The hotel is completely filled up." "A reservation is needed for a table in the restaurant." Or the Negro may be accepted and served food that has been made unpalatable by filling it with salt or even a violent emetic. Perhaps the simplest way of discouraging the return of an unwelcome Negro patron is to overcharge him, a practice which is also frequently utilized in private business and professional services. Another device is to insult the Negro customer. It is an old practice for bartenders to smash a glass after a Negro has drunk from it. A variation was played on this theme in 1946 in a South Chicago tavern when three Negroes were charged 10 cents each for beer and 30 cents each for the glasses, the bartender saying they could take the glasses with them if they so desired. Something new under Jim Crow practice was adopted by downtown Cincinnati restaurants when white employees took mass advantage of "sick leave" during the convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People held in that city in 1946. In Salem, New Jersey, six restaurants closed their doors in order not to serve 1,000 Negro Elks meeting

in that city for a three-day convention. In 1945 and 1946 city officials in Cincinnati, Warren, and Lima, Ohio, closed swimming pools rather than admit Negroes to them. In Froebel High School in Gary, Indiana, the swimming pool is open on certain days for Negroes and on other days for whites—a fairly typical formula in Northern cities for segregation in swimming. Sometimes subterfuge is resorted to, as when municipal authorities lease public swimming pools to private operators who in turn exclude colored persons. Sometimes the discrimination has tragic results. On Mar. 11, 1937, Mrs. W. C. Handy, wife of the blues composer, was compelled to wait in an ambulance outside Knickerbocker Hospital in New York for an hour while officials argued whether or not they could admit Negroes to private rooms. She died a few hours later. Nationally famous Negroes have been refused accommodations in hotels and restaurants. Edwin R. Embree states that Marian Anderson cannot be served in many public restaurants of her home city of Philadelphia even though it has declared her a first citizen by giving her the Bok award.

In general, the civil-rights laws are not very effective. Public prosecutors tend to regard such offenses as trifling and are unwilling to prosecute unless furnished with airtight cases. The aggrieved individuals usually prefer to swallow humiliation and insult rather than assume the burden of a lawsuit. Most Negroes, even though within their rights, prefer to avoid places where they know they are not welcome. Business proprietors, fearful that they might lose their white clientele, ignore the law or treat fines as business expenses and continue to discriminate. In no jurisdiction can the powerful sanction of suspension or cancellation of license to operate the place of public accommodation be invoked. The experience of New York State seems to be that the problem of discrimination is more susceptible to solution by educational tactics than by recourse to legal powers except in extreme and wilful instances. The real difficulty is that such laws are of value where little needed and are ineffective where much needed. Ordinarily, such legislation is in advance of public opinion, and it needs increasingly the support of white individuals and groups to become effective.

Public support of civil-rights measures may take various forms, such as insistence in specific instances that Negroes receive accommodations, not withdrawing patronage when Negroes are ad-

mitted, and lauding the managers of business establishments that adopt a race-equality policy. A direct nonviolent action program that has met with some success is that worked out by an interracial organization of young people called the Committee of Racial Equality, popularly known as C.O.R.E. The technique consists first in seeking service in a mixed group in such public places as restaurants and amusement centers. The group is under discipline and is always to behave circumspectly and absorb possible violence without retaliation. If no difficulty is encountered, the members express appreciation for courteous service. If service is refused or some type of discrimination is encountered, negotiations are entered into with the management. If these fail, the group goes into direct nonviolent action, which may take the form of distributing leaflets to the patrons calling attention to the discriminatory policies of the establishment, picketing, or an interracial sit-down strike. By the last-mentioned technique, if Negro members of the group are refused service, the others refuse to touch their food or drink until the management agrees to serve all, regardless of color. In such instances the police have generally refrained from interfering, since there was no disturbance, and the establishments have been forced to yield. The original C.O.R.E. group was organized in Chicago. Others now function in Syracuse, New York, Colorado Springs, Detroit, and Indianapolis, and a National Federation of Committees of Racial Equality has been established to strengthen the already existing groups and to develop similar organizations elsewhere.

STATE STATUTES COMPELLING SEGREGATION OR DISCRIMINATION

In all the Southern and border states and the District of Columbia segregation in one respect or another is the legal requirement, and where the law is silent on a specific matter, custom and tradition accomplish the same end. These are the so-called Jim Crow laws and practices. The origin of the term is unknown although it probably arose from the comparison of the color of the Negro with that of the crow. According to one story, the expression arose in the early part of the nineteenth century in Charleston where a hotelkeeper had two slaves both of whom were named James. In order not to have both, or neither, respond when he called, he instructed one to answer to the name of Jim. As a further designation, since he was very black, the guests added Crow. The

earliest public use of the phrase was in 1832 when Thomas D. Rice, a Negro minstrel, brought out a dramatic new song, which was a popular success, entitled "Jump Jim Crow." The name became fixed in the language as meaning a Negro. As applied to a railroad car set apart for the use of Negroes it was first used in Massachusetts in 1841. Since then it has been applied to all laws and regulations requiring segregation of Negroes. The term may be used as a noun, adjective, or verb.

In 1896 the United States Supreme Court held in *Plessy v. Ferguson* that a state law requiring separate but equal accommodations for Negroes and whites on railroads did not violate the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The rule has been extended to a long list of public accommodations and facilities including all public conveyances, schools, parks, playgrounds, hotels, restaurants, and places of amusement.

The Federal government itself has permitted racial segregation in the District of Columbia; segregation is complete in the public school system, and it is considerably practiced in the Army and other branches of the government. Moreover, the United States government, which has exclusive jurisdiction over the Panama Canal Zone, carries on a pattern of segregation there which applies to employment, housing, commissaries, clubhouses, and other public institutions. All the colored workers, who are mainly Negroes from the Caribbean countries, are subjected to separate and lower standards than the white employees who are United States citizens. The former cannot become citizens because our naturalization laws do not apply. The terms "gold" and "silver" workers are applied to the whites and Negroes, originating from the early practice of paying them respectively in gold and in silver coin. This classification is the basis of a system of social segregation so complete that the only facilities in common use by the two groups are the public streets and sidewalks. The moral position and leadership of the United States government are adversely affected throughout Latin America because of this official policy of racial discrimination.

The most widespread of the Jim Crow laws of the Southern states are those which make it unlawful for any railroad to transport white and colored passengers in the same vehicle or the same portion thereof. Such compulsory separation exists in 14 states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana,

Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia—in short, all the former slaveholding states with the exception of Delaware and Missouri, and Delaware has an act which may be termed an optional Jim Crow statute. Certain exceptions are made, such as nurses or attendants in charge of persons of the opposite race who are unable to take care of themselves, railway employees, and police officers in charge of prisoners (the white officer with a Negro prisoner must ride in the colored coach). Three states (Maryland, North Carolina, and Virginia) exempt Pullman cars from the operation of the Jim Crow law, thereby relieving the railways of the duty to segregate passengers and to provide equal accommodations for the two races. Ten states make statutory provision for separate waiting rooms.

These laws, to be constitutional, call for separate but equal accommodations, but it is a notorious fact that the provisions for colored passengers are inferior. In general, the Negro has to pay first-class fare and submit to second-class accommodations, and he has commonly been denied the privileges of sleeping- and dining-car service. In 1937 a Negro traveling from Chicago to Hot Springs, Arkansas, was removed from a Pullman to a Jim Crow day coach after the train crossed the Arkansas line. This sort of situation has occurred many times, but the Negro in this instance happened to be Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell, who brought suit against the railroad. In 1941 the United States Supreme Court unanimously decided in his favor (although 10 Southern states joined in an unprecedented appeal to the Supreme Court not to take action), and ordered the railroads to provide as good accommodations for Negroes as for whites in interstate travel. In the opinion of the Court the issue was not a question of segregation, but one of equality of treatment. As a result of this decision and also of efforts on the part of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, facilities for Negroes have been improved. Most of the Southern railroads now serve Negroes in the diners; either after the white passengers have all been served or in separate compartments in the dining cars.

With the exception of Alabama, Kentucky, and Maryland, all the Southern states having railway Jim Crow laws also require separate accommodations on streetcars. In Alabama such regulations occur in the absence of a state law. Eleven states have special

laws requiring separation of the races on buses. In all the truly Southern states a policy of segregation is followed in the absence of statutory regulation. In 1946 the United States Supreme Court held in the Irene Morgan case that the enforcement of segregation laws on interstate motor conveyances interferes with interstate commerce where "uniformity" is necessary, and segregation is therefore illegal. When some Northern Negro and white "teams" from the Fellowship of Reconciliation undertook in 1947 to test the Morgan decision, they found that in terms of unsegregated interstate bus travel it had not penetrated the South much beyond Richmond, Virginia, though practices varied widely.

Considerable racial tension has long attended streetcar and bus transportation in many parts of the South. The *Negro Year Book, 1947* (edited by Jessie Parkhurst Guzman, p. 211) bitterly complains:

Rudeness and petty tyranny of streetcar conductors toward Negro passengers; refusal of bus drivers to take on Negroes before all white passengers have been accommodated; disregard on the part of streetcar and bus operators of signals given by Negro passengers who wish to get off; abusive language and sometimes physical force and death inflicted by public-conveyance operators upon Negro passengers for minor violations of segregation rules—such treatment, while not sanctioned by law, is to be expected in a region where interracial etiquette is considered inviolate; where "white supremacy" is to be maintained at any cost; and where actual murder motivated by a traditional determination to keep the Negro "in his place" can and does, too frequently, take place with impunity.

It has been the experience in the North as well as in the South that local transportation has been a special source of friction and antagonism. The Chicago Commission on Race Relations (pp. 299–300) pointed out:

As a factor in attitudes on race relations, transportation contacts, while impersonal and temporary, are significant for several reasons. In the first place, many whites have no contact with Negroes except on the cars, and their personal impressions of the entire Negro group may be determined by one or two observations of Negro passengers. Secondly, transportation contacts are not supervised as are contacts in the school, the playground, and the workshop. If there is a dispute between passengers over a seat it usually rests with the passengers themselves to come to an understanding. Any feeling of suspicion or

prejudice on either side because of the difference in race accentuates any such misunderstanding. In the third place, transportation contacts, at least on crowded cars, involve a degree of physical contact between Negroes and whites which rarely occurs under other circumstances and which sometimes leads to a display of racial feeling.

On the other hand, segregation does not appear to provide a solution. Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond (Virginia) *Times-Dispatch*, in an editorial on Nov. 13, 1943, entitled "To Lessen Race Friction," called for repeal of the segregation laws applying to buses and trolley cars. He stated:

The laws result in closer interracial contact than would otherwise be the case because, whereas white and colored passengers usually sit in separate seats, the invariably crowded condition in the aisles of streetcars and buses at rush hours throw the races together as never before. Colored passengers who get on crowded cars or buses have to push their way through the dense mass of white people, and in the case of one-man cars they must force their way to the front again. It would be preferable if the Negroes were allowed to stand or sit in the car or bus wherever they could find room, thus avoiding the push through the crowded aisles. It is this push which causes the trouble. Repeal of the State law which requires segregation of the races on streetcars and buses, and of local ordinances which embody the same requirement, would solve the difficulty.

Incidentally, it may be noted that the coming of the cheap automobile has meant for Southern Negroes who can afford one a partial emancipation from Jim Crowism. When traveling, however, the Negro encounters difficulties, both in the North and in the South, in finding a place to eat and sleep. Many colored families have motored across the United States without being able to secure overnight accommodations at a single tourist camp or hotel. To assist the Negro tourist a booklet, the *Negro Motorist Green-book*, has been published as a guide to hotels, tourist homes, restaurants, and other places where Negroes will be welcomed without embarrassment. For the Negro traveler there has also developed an intricate and involved system of reciprocal entertaining to soften the impact of public prejudice. According to Horace R. Cayton, this system among Negroes of entertaining visitors, and expecting in turn to be entertained when a visitor, is not only a social ritual but a method of avoiding insults in restaurants,

refusals in hotels, and discrimination in places of public entertainment.

Next to transportation, the most common provision of the Southern Jim Crow laws applies to charitable and penal institutions. The laws of 11 states require that separate quarters must be provided for whites and blacks among the inmates of hospitals for the insane and mentally defective and of jails, prisons, and reformatories. When such separation is not required by law, it is the policy of the governing boards to adopt the usual plan of segregation. In certain instances separate institutions have been established for the two races. In some states facilities are provided for the whites and no corresponding service for Negroes, which is clearly a violation of the constitutional guarantee of equality. There are also laws requiring the separation of the races in hospitals. A tragic instance of the effect of such a policy is the case of Miss Juliette Derricotte, a member of the National Board of the Y.W.C.A., who was injured in an automobile accident in Dalton, Georgia, in 1937, was excluded from the white hospital in town, and transported in a dying condition 50 miles to a colored institution in Chattanooga, where she succumbed.

There are laws that require separation of the races in numerous other respects, of which the following are illustrations: at circuses and tent shows (two states); in parks, playgrounds, and on beaches (three states); in billiard parlors and poolrooms (three states); at race tracks (one state); in voting places (one state); in factory employment (one state); and in theaters and public halls (two states). If a state does not have an act calling for segregation with respect to a specific matter, it is not to be assumed that there is no segregation in that regard. Southern laws are generally silent as to hotels, restaurants, theaters, and other places of public resort—matters of such concern in the civil-rights statutes of the North. Mangum comments (p. 33),

In the South it is an almost unheard-of occurrence for a Negro or mulatto to request accommodations in a place of this kind which is frequented only by whites. Some theaters permit Negroes in balconies set aside for their special use. The Negroes have their own hotels and restaurants, their own theaters and pleasure resorts. The exceptions to this practice are so few that they only serve to prove the rule. In most Southern communities any Negro who made an attempt to enter a white hotel or theater would be thrown out unceremoniously

and without delay. He would be labeled as an undesirable colored person and would probably lose his means of livelihood, for he is largely dependent on the good will of white employers for his economic subsistence. In some portions of the South more serious results might follow, such as a beating.

The usual justification, both legal and customary, of segregation of the races in public places is that it promotes better race relations, lessens friction, prevents racial conflicts, and therefore constitutes a proper exercise of the state's police power. "It may be noted," comments Professor Cushman (p. 18), "that Northern states exercise their police powers in the form of civil-rights acts to forbid the very segregation which Southern statutes require." In the light of the historical background and the present situation in the South, there is no doubt that enforced association of the races would result in friction and conflict. Liberal Southerners, while insisting that the two groups should remain apart, are demanding that the accommodations provided for Negroes should be identical with those provided for whites. A long road must be traveled to attain that end, but it appears that this is the only practicable way, at least as an important and necessary first step, to improve race relations in the South.

II. SOCIAL ASPECTS: THE QUESTION OF SOCIAL EQUALITY

As in the field of civil relations, so in that of social relations of an interpersonal nature the Negro in America finds that he is more often than not excluded or segregated. The color line is drawn—less sharply in some types of relationships than in others, among some groups of whites than among others, in some places than in others—but nevertheless generally drawn and potentially ever present. Though segregational practices are neither simple nor uniform and though they show great variations, they exhibit a kind of pattern and permit a ranking in order of degree of discrimination. The term "social" is used here not in the scientific sense but in the more popular meaning of personal relations, especially of an intimate sort. This is the field of relations not regarded as falling within the province of law; it is of a private rather than of a public nature. Such behavior may be affected by appeal to reason or emotion rather than by legal sanction. Equality in such social relations is generally denied the American Negro

by segregational and discriminatory practices which are so manifold and pervasive that it would be difficult, and not very meaningful, to list or catalogue them. More profitably, their nature may be suggested and certain aspects and effects discussed under the rough classification of institutional and personal types.

SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION OF AN INSTITUTIONAL CHARACTER

In a survey made by the American Civil Liberties Union in 1945, and revised in 1946, out of 141 semipublic national organizations in the fields of education, social welfare, religion, health and medicine, art, business, professions, etc., 96 reported that they had no racial segregation or discrimination as a declared policy. Of these associations reporting no policy of racial discrimination in admission to membership, 12 had no Negro members, and only 9 had as many as 100 such members. These 9 were the American Association of University Professors, American Women's Voluntary Services, Inc., Workers Defense League, Southern Conference of Human Welfare, Army and Navy Union USA, Association of Military Surgeons, National Lawyers Guild, American Missionary Association, and Fellowship of Reconciliation. On the other hand, 29 of these organizations reported Negroes as serving on their governing boards and 19 as having them on their paid staffs. Of the 96 national organizations which profess no discrimination, the American Civil Liberties Union comments:

Despite professions of equality in admission to membership, one of three facts, or all, are true of a large majority of the associations: (1) Negroes are discouraged from participation, or (2) few are qualified for membership in the large number of highly specialized associations, or (3) they are not interested in seeking membership in general associations.

Thirty-eight national organizations fall in the class of associations with segregation in local or state chapters, especially in the South. In practically all these agencies, Negroes may join as national members, serve on national boards, and act as delegates to national conventions. The organizations in this group with the largest number of Negro members are the American Vocational Association, Boy Scouts of America, Girl Scouts, Disabled American Veterans, National Women's Christian Temperance Union, and Veterans of Foreign Wars USA, Ladies' Auxiliary. The total

membership of the 96 organizations reporting no discrimination is about two million as compared with memberships totaling over forty million in the 38 organizations which segregate in local or state chapters.

In a third class are organizations which discriminate in one way or another against Negroes but do not segregate them. In this group are three organizations: American Bar Association, American Veterinary Medical Association, and National Association of Women Lawyers.

A fourth class comprises two organizations with complete segregation. These are the National Council of the Y.M.C.A. and Veterans of Foreign Wars. These organizations were reported as having separate branches for Negroes and not admitting them as members of the national organization.

Finally, two organizations were reported as excluding Negroes altogether. They are the Association of Professional Ball Players of America and the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

We have already discussed segregation in the church and the development of the separate Negro church, and we have noted the action of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and of several denominations in renouncing the policy of segregation. In 1946 the national Y.W.C.A. approved a program designed to bring its Negro membership into the "main stream of association life." The national Y.M.C.A. followed with a milder resolution along the same lines. There are some 80 Negro branches of the Y.W.C.A. and some 90 colored branches of the Y.M.C.A., located in 30 states equally divided between the North and the South. A number of the Negro Y.M.C.A. buildings were erected with the financial aid of the Jewish philanthropist Julius Rosenwald.

In the field of education, we have already noted, besides the official segregation in the tax-supported educational system of 17 states and the District of Columbia, the practice of many privately supported institutions of either excluding Negro students or of limiting the number admitted. Negroes in Northern colleges are generally left out of the student social activities. Excluded from the college fraternities and sororities, they have formed their own (11 in number). In inter-sectional college sports Southern teams have frequently refused to play unless the Negro members of Northern teams were "benched." A new era was started in 1936

when the University of North Carolina gave up insistence on a color-bar clause in its contracts with Northern teams. Southern Methodist, Texas Christian, Duke, Oklahoma, and Maryland university teams a few years later took a similar step. Some Northern teams have called off games when Southern teams objected to Negroes playing. In 1947 the student council of the University of Nebraska recommended that Nebraska withdraw from the Missouri Valley Intercollegiate Athletic Association unless the conference delete the clause in its rules which bars Negroes from athletic competition.

Until "Jackie" Robinson was signed by the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1945, Negroes were not permitted to play major-league baseball. They are not tolerated in the tournaments of the United States Golf Association, the Professional Golfers Association (in September, 1948, following a civil suit, the P.G.A. revised its rule against Negro golfers), or the United States Lawn Tennis Association. As a result, they have their own baseball league, their own golf association, and their own tennis association. The American Bowling Congress by constitutional provision bars non-whites from participating in its tournaments, and it has thus far resisted efforts to change its policy. Most other sports organizations in the United States accept the entry of Negro contestants. Henderson holds that, except for prize fighting, Negroes are more discriminated against in professional than in amateur sports.

In the field of the arts, professional Negro acting for almost a century was entirely separate from the regular American theater. In the second decade of the twentieth century Bert Williams became the first featured Negro player in a white company. In 1919 serious Negro acting was introduced on Broadway when Charles Gilpin played in John Drinkwater's *Abraham Lincoln*. Today mixed casts and those starring Negro players, as well as all-Negro casts, are no longer a novelty on the Broadway boards or in many sections of the country. The Actors Equity Association has undertaken to eliminate racial inequalities in the theater and in 1947 it warned the National Theatre in Washington, D.C., that it would keep all actors off its stage unless it abolished its ban against Negroes in the audience. Rather than accede to this policy, the National Theatre was converted in 1948 into a movie house. As an illustration of the inconsistencies in discrimination, whereas the National Theatre refuses to admit Negro patrons but permits

Negro actors on its stage, Constitution Hall—the only suitable concert auditorium in the nation's capital, owned by the Daughters of the American Revolution—allows Negroes in the audience but will not permit Negro artists to give regular commercial concerts on its stage.

In 1939 the Daughters of the American Revolution received considerable notoriety when it refused permission to Marian Anderson to give a concert in Constitution Hall, an incident which led Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt to resign from the organization. In 1943 Miss Anderson was permitted to give a benefit concert in the hall for Chinese War Relief, and in 1946 the choir of Tuskegee Institute was granted free use of the hall, the proceeds going to the United Negro College Fund. But the "white artists only" policy of the D.A.R. in renting the hall still obtains; it was invoked in 1945 to bar the Negro pianist Hazel Scott. In opposition to this policy it has been stated that although the D.A.R. is a private enterprise, Constitution Hall is a semipublic institution inasmuch as it is tax exempt. Much unfavorable reaction to the D.A.R. has occurred as a result of these incidents. For example, the seniors of Crosby High School at Waterbury, Connecticut, voted in 1946 to reject the annual Good Citizenship Pilgrimage Award of the D.A.R. because it was "sponsored by an organization that refused Negro musicians permission to use Constitution Hall for concerts;" the annual American History medals awarded by local chapters of the D.A.R. were rejected in 1946 by the Seward Park High School of New York and the Girls' High School of Brooklyn for the same reason; the eighth graders in a New Jersey public school voted in 1945 to boycott the D.A.R. essay contest because of its policy of racial discrimination; the Boston School Committee in 1948 barred the D.A.R. from sponsoring contests or programs in the city's public schools; and a Federal judge in New Jersey in 1945 excluded the local chapters of the D.A.R. from being represented at citizenship proceedings unless they would repudiate the action of their national body in restricting the use of Constitution Hall against Negroes.

For a long time the Negro was unknown on the radio except for very minor appearances. Gradually this is changing. From the beginning of the movies and the talkies the roles assigned to Negroes were only those which portrayed them as buffoons, as unintelligent or superstitious persons, or as servants. Since about

1940, however, there has been a trend toward giving Negroes better roles. This trend has been due, in part, to a revolt among Negroes against being stereotyped. There are a few Negro motion-picture producers making all-Negro movies for the six hundred-odd Negro theaters which are located for the most part in 11 Southern states.

PARALLEL DEVELOPMENT OF NEGRO INSTITUTIONS

Since they are excluded from, or discriminated against, by so many white organizations, the Negroes have established their own organizations for educational, professional, economic, and general advancement. The *Negro Year Book, 1947* (edited by Jessie Parkhurst Guzman), lists 100 such national associations. A similar situation exists with reference to fraternal orders. There are nearly a score of Negro fraternal orders of national scope. These lodges combine a secret ritualistic feature with mutual insurance. The social side of the meetings, the pompous funerals, the mystical names, and the lure of the secret ritual draw Negroes into the lodges, and the insurance feature keeps them paying their dues with fair regularity. Herskovits (pp. 161-167) thinks that these lodges are directly in line with the tradition underlying West African secret societies. At the same time, they are modeled after the white lodges, and they began when the white lodges refused to take in Negro members and when white insurance companies refused to accept Negro policyholders.

Negro lodges fall into two classes: they are either direct imitations of the white lodges, such as the Pythians, Oddfellows, Elks, and Shriners, or they are peculiarly Negro orders with no counterpart among the whites—a situation parallel to that of church denominations. White lodges, particularly in the South, have sought, usually without avail, to restrain the Negro societies from using the same names and emblems. In 1912 the United States Supreme Court decided in favor of the Negro Knights of Pythias in a case instituted by the white Knights of Pythias of Georgia. In 1929 the Supreme Court upheld, in a case that originated in Texas, the right of the Negroes of the Ancient Egyptian Arabic Order, Nobles of the Mystic Shrine to use the similar name, emblems, and regalia of the white Shriners. In both instances the court held that there was no evidence of a fraudulent intent on the part of the Negro order or of a purpose on its part to induce any-

one to believe that it was the white order or that they were parts of the same fraternity. In 1923 the white Order of Moose dropped proceedings against the colored Moose when the latter organization changed its name to the Benevolent Protective Order of Reindeer.

Both the lodges and the numerous social clubs, which are relatively more common among Negroes than among whites and command more of their time and money, play a peculiar role in Negro life owing to the factor of segregation. Negroes are active in such voluntary associations because they are not allowed to participate in much of the other organized life of American society. Myrdal (pp. 952-955) regards these Negro associations as pathological since they do not help their members to business, political, or social success in the same way that white clubs do; since they follow a pattern—with their secret rites, elaborate ritual, and heavily formalized activity—which is about a generation behind the general American pattern; and since they accomplish so little in comparison to what their members set out to achieve by means of them in mutual aid, civic advancement, and improving the position of the race. Since the depression of the 1930's the Negro lodges and benevolent societies have declined in popularity owing to their frequent failure to pay insurance benefits. Especially the lower classes have left, frequently to join religious sects. The middle classes remain for the prestige, power, and recreation that the lodges provide. The upper classes are being attracted away from the lodges and toward the colored business and professional associations, the college and high school fraternities and sororities. The main functions that the lodges continue to perform are a means of recreation and a device of ego enhancement. Negroes can achieve thereby a measure of self-expression denied them in the white world.

As has been intimated in several places above, the Negroes in the United States have developed a parallel set of institutions. They have their own churches and Y.M.C.A.'s and Y.W.C.A.'s, their own fraternities and sororities, their own business and professional associations, their own lodges and social and recreational clubs, their own resorts, theaters, restaurants, and hotels. In part, this development represents preference and self-imposed segregation. It is impossible to draw the line between voluntary withdrawal of Negroes into their own group and forced segregation. The

latter is practically always contributory, at least indirectly, to the former. Myrdal (p. 631) holds that "the voluntary withdrawal often goes further than the demand for segregation on the part of the whites. Many Negroes in the upper and middle classes make it a policy to abstain as far as possible from utilizing the Southern Jim Crow setups in theaters, transportation, and the like, or from entering places in the North where they know that they are not welcome." The same attitude and practice apply to membership in voluntary organizations and institutions.

SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION OF A PERSONAL TYPE

Under this heading we may group those customary rules governing interracial contacts of an interpersonal nature which are symbols of white men's concepts of the relative social status of the two races. These requirements as to social behavior are sometimes called the etiquette of race relations or the racial etiquette in public contacts and personal relations. They represent a pattern of superordination and subordination; they are designed to keep the Negro "in his place" as a social inferior. Under them is subsumed the popular theory of "no social equality."

Social Equality. The term "social equality," as popularly used, is vague and misleading. Strictly speaking, as measuring the state of being equal in social standing and prestige, there is no such thing, even among white people, for there are differences of class, wealth, rank, power, and the like. As applied to race relations, the notion that the Negro is not to be given social equality with the whites covers a broad and varied set of relationships, some of which have nothing to do with social acceptance but are matters of civil or legal rights. As Myrdal (p. 586) states:

One moment it will be stretched to cover and justify every form of social segregation and discrimination, and, in addition, all the inequalities in justice, politics, and breadwinning. The next moment it will be narrowed to express only the denial of close personal intimacies and intermarriage. The very lack of precision allows the notion of "no social equality" to rationalize the rather illogical and wavering system of color caste in America.

When pursued to the last analysis, the problem reduces itself to one of sex. That is what the whites really mean by social equality: they will not tolerate intermarriage or any contacts that

might lead to it. "The purity of the white race" must be preserved. This aversion to amalgamation, as we shall see, determines the rank order of the various measures of segregation and discrimination against Negroes. The closer any relationship is to the sexual, the stronger is the taboo against it. Indeed, the whole system of segregation and discrimination is defended, as Myrdal (p. 587) points out, as "necessary to block 'social equality' which in its turn is held necessary to prevent 'intermarriage.'" Logically implicit in this popular theory, though never openly expressed, is the assumption that whites and Negroes—or, in the extreme form, white women and Negro men—would intermarry if they were not guarded from even meeting on an equal plane. Margaret Halsey (pp. 101–105) states that the whole implication behind the hackneyed question, "Would you like your daughter to marry a Negro?" is that your daughter *would* fall in love with one and marry him if she got the chance. The ban on intermarriage and other sex relations involving white women and Negro men heads the list of restrictions, especially in the South. The taboo against extramarital sex relations between white men and colored women, on the other hand, is mild in comparison and has been honored more in the breach than in the observance. Herschel Brickell tells the story from the Mississippi Delta which concerns a white man who admitted that he had had a Negro mistress for thirty years, but defending himself hotly against any suspicion that he might favor "social equality," swore that he had "never sat down to breakfast with her."

The desire to prevent intermarriage is extended, illogically, to justify not merely the whole range of racial etiquette but the denial of civil and political rights as well. This attempted justification further ignores the facts that marriage is a very personal and private decision and that it is based on mutual consent. As H. G. Wells (p. 194) once said, the notion that if you eat with Negroes, you've got to marry them, is "an entirely fabulous post-prandial responsibility." Or as the Negro poet Langston Hughes (p. 6) has written:

Millions of people in New York, Chicago, and Seattle go to the same polls and vote without ever cohabiting together. Why does the South think it would be otherwise with Negroes were they permitted to vote there? Or have a decent education? Or sit on a stool in a public

place and eat a hamburger? Why they think simple civil rights would force a Southerner's daughter to marry a Negro in spite of herself, I have never been able to understand. It must be due to some lack somewhere in their schooling.

The typical white Southerner does not differentiate between public and private relations because to him both have significance for prestige and social equality. He is traditionally and emotionally opposed to Negro equality for its own sake. He thinks of Negroes as former slaves, as racially inferior, and as a group set apart from white society. He regards their subservience as a mark of his own superior social status. Moreover, he finds an economic advantage in the system of segregation which tends to keep the Negroes uneducated, politically powerless, and noncompetitive.

Southern Rank Order of Discriminations. When white Southerners are asked to rank in order of importance the various types of segregation and discrimination, they consistently present a list in which the order is determined by the degree of closeness to the anti-amalgamation doctrine; that is, the closer the type of interracial behavior is to sexual and social intercourse on an equalitarian basis, the higher it ranks among the forbidden things. We are here following Myrdal's perspicacious observations, as set forth in *An American Dilemma* (pp. 60-67, 606-618), supplemented by Johnson's analysis of discriminatory customs in his *Patterns of Negro Segregation* (especially Chapter VI). The rank order of the various measures of segregation and discrimination against Negroes, as summarized by Myrdal, is the following:

Rank 1. Highest in this order stands the bar against intermarriage and sexual intercourse involving white women.

Rank 2. Next come the several etiquettes and discriminations, which specifically concern behavior in personal relations. (These are the barriers against dancing, bathing, eating, drinking together, and social intermingling generally; peculiar rules as to handshaking, hat lifting, use of titles, house entrance to be used, social forms when meeting on streets and in work, and so forth. These patterns are sometimes referred to as the denial of "social equality" in the narrow meaning of the term.)

Rank 3. Thereafter follow the segregations and discriminations in use of public facilities such as schools, churches, and means of conveyance.

Rank 4. Next comes political disfranchisement.

Rank 5. Thereafter come discriminations in law courts, by the police, and by other public servants.

Rank 6. Finally come the discriminations in securing land, credit, jobs, or other means of earning a living, and discriminations in public relief and other social welfare activities.

It is highly significant that the Negro's ranking of discriminations is in inverse order to the white man's. Says Myrdal (p. 61):

The Negro resists least the discrimination on the ranks placed highest in the white man's evaluation and resents most any discrimination on the lowest level. This is in accord with the Negro's immediate interests. Negroes are in desperate need of jobs and bread, even more so than of justice in the courts and of the vote. These latter needs are, in their turn, more urgent even than better schools and playgrounds, or, rather, they are primary means of reaching equality in the use of community facilities. Such facilities are, in turn, more important than civil courtesies. The marriage matter, finally, is of rather distant and doubtful interest.

PATTERN OF SEGREGATION IN THE NORTH

In a number of respects the pattern of segregation in the North differs from that in the South. The white Northerner is much more inclined to discriminate against the Negro economically, especially with respect to managerial, skilled and white-collar employment, but he grants much more equal treatment in public relations and in all matters of political and civil rights. There is also the virtual absence of the Southern racial etiquette in the day-by-day contacts between Negroes and whites. A great deal of what the South would call social intermingling takes place in the North without exciting apprehension or antagonism. The color line is seldom drawn in theaters or at large athletic events or at other public gatherings.

Color distinctions are also minimized by the demands of economic necessity and political expediency. The white man doing business with Negroes, the salesman trying to close a deal, the labor leader rallying his followers, the politician seeking votes—all such types not only extend the ordinary courtesies to Negroes, but sometimes find themselves joking, back slapping, dining, and otherwise fraternizing with them.

According to the Negro authors Drake and Cayton, from whose excellent study, *Black Metropolis* (p. 117), this statement is quoted, the color line in the North is most tightly drawn (1) at intermarriage and membership in white cliques, churches, and social clubs; (2) in recreational situations that emphasize active participation rather than merely looking on, in which men and women participate together, and particularly when such situations involve close contact between Negro men and white women, as in roller-skating rinks, bowling alleys, dance halls, and bathing beaches; and (3) where "exclusiveness" is an issue, as in certain restaurants, night clubs, cocktail lounges, and hotels.

Insofar as "social equality" is defined to mean membership in white families, cliques, churches, and social clubs, and visiting and entertaining in the home, Negroes exert no pressure for it and manifest very little interest in it. Say Drake and Cayton (p. 121): "Negroes are generally indifferent to social intermingling with white people, and this indifference is closely related to the existence of a separate, parallel Negro institutional life which makes interracial activities seem unnecessary and almost 'unnatural.'" But when white people interpret such situations as applying to the use of beaches, parks, hospitals, and other public facilities, membership in business and professional associations, white-collar employment, and competition on the open market for houses as matters of social equality and deny them to Negroes, the latter generally disagree and exert pressure against the color line. From the Negro's viewpoint, the issue is one of civil and economic rights, not of social acceptance. Finally, there are certain borderline situations where some Negroes exert pressure against the color line, some whites resist, while others accept the situation as semisocial. Examples of such areas of uncertainty are the use of commercial recreational facilities; the use of sanitary facilities, elevators, etc., in hotels and apartment houses; and attendance at social affairs, including interracial dancing, sponsored by concerns where Negroes work, schools which they attend, or unions and professional societies to which they belong. The color line is by no means uniform or fixed. It varies and shifts according to time, place, and circumstance. Nor is it always or in every respect a matter of contention. For the most part, as Drake and Cayton (p. 286) remark, "Negroes and whites maintain a moving equilibrium of peaceful interrelationships with conflict muted and com-

petition controlled and ritualized. Sometimes, though, the pattern breaks: both groups become restless, tensions rise—and the color line becomes a battle line.”

Whatever form segregation takes, be it legal or social, institutional or personal, it results in cultural isolation and in lack of equality of opportunity. It tends toward the development of a caste system. Not only in the United States but wherever observed, not only in Negro-white relations but in other racial or ethnic relations as well, the general effect of segregation, according to Wirth, has been to create an ever-widening gulf between the segregated peoples.

The absence of social contact has increased mutual ignorance, suspicion, and social distance and has decreased mutual understanding, appreciation, and the development of common interests. It has had a narrow and stunting effect and has intensified the unique features of each group. It has frequently resulted in the subordinate group of a feeling of frustration and resignation and in the dominant group of a condescending and patronizing attitude.

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CHAPTER 15

THE NEGRO QUESTION IN WARTIME

The problem of segregation and discrimination, indeed the whole question of the Negro's status in American society, came to the fore during the Second World War in a disturbing and challenging manner unequaled since the days of Reconstruction. It intruded itself upon every phase of the war effort: in the armed services, in defense industries, in civilian affairs, and in the general morale problem. McWilliams says (p. 29):

The problem came to the surface not only because the dynamics of the war forced it there, but because the ideological character of the war had affected the entire population, and as this process developed, thousands of Americans began to be acutely conscious of Negro discrimination and increasingly determined to do something about it.

The Negroes' reaction was one of resentment that they were not allowed to participate on an equal basis and of demand that injustice and discrimination be eliminated and Negroes accorded full status as citizens in American democracy.

THE RECORD OF NEGROES AS SOLDIERS

Despite the difficulties faced by them in the armed services, Negroes have fought in all the great wars and in most of the famous battles of American history, and they have fought well. A Negro, Crispus Attucks, was the first American to fall under British fire in the Boston Massacre of 1770. Negroes fought beside the minute men at Bunker Hill and the Continentals at Red Bank, New Jersey, where George Washington himself singled them out for praise. All told, approximately 5,000 Negroes served in the War for Independence, the majority of them being from the North. Some volunteered, some were drafted, and others substituted for white draftees. There were a few separate Negro companies—two

in Massachusetts, one each in Connecticut and Rhode Island. Negroes also served in the Navy as ordinary seamen, pilots, boatswain's mates and gunner's mates. They were among the crews of the coastal galleys that defended Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Many were slaves who were later awarded their freedom, as occurred also in the War of 1812. The number of Negroes who served in the War of 1812 was small, although it is estimated that they formed one-sixth of the naval personnel. There was no serious objection to their service in the Army, but there was also little inclination to recruit them. A battalion of "free men of color" formed part of the front line at the Battle of New Orleans. During the Civil War the Union had 170,000 Negro soldiers under arms, including 161 regiments of Negro troops. Although precise figures are not available regarding Negroes in the Union Navy, it appears that they formed a larger proportion of the Navy's personnel than they did of the Army's.

With the increase in the number of Negro soldiers following the Emancipation Proclamation and in subsequent years, the policy began of assigning them to separate units, and the pattern of segregation became established. By act of Congress in 1866 provision was made for two colored regiments of infantry and two of cavalry. In the First World War the four separate regiments distinguished themselves as combat troops. Including enlisted and drafted men, 404,348 Negroes, of whom 1,353 were commissioned officers, served in the Army, but only about 10 per cent saw combat service overseas. The vast majority were placed in labor battalions. In the Navy, Negroes were used only as messmen. Most famous of the Negro combat troops was the 369th Infantry, composed of volunteers from New York's Harlem. Called *Les Enfants Perdus* by the French soldiers because they fought with the French instead of with their own army, the regiment was the first unit of the Allied armies to reach the Rhine. It served longer under fire (191 days) than any other regiment in the American Expeditionary Force, yielded no prisoners, never lost a foot of ground, and suffered 40 per cent casualties.

This proud record was continued in the Second World War. At Pearl Harbor a Negro messman, Dorie Miller, dashed to the bridge of his ship, helped carry his mortally wounded captain to a place of greater safety, and manned a machine gun until ordered below. He was awarded a Navy Cross. In the Philippines the first

man of the armored forces to fall in action was Private Robert Brooks, son of a Negro sharecropper of Sadieville, Kentucky. Today the main parade ground at Fort Knox, headquarters for the United States armored forces, is named Brooks Field in his honor. In 1943 the destroyer escort U.S.S. *Harmon* was named in honor of a Negro mess attendant, posthumously decorated for extraordinary heroism against the enemy at Guadalcanal. It was the first warship named in honor of a Negro. An incomplete account of individual awards for heroism and extraordinary achievement in the Second World War shows 5 Negroes as recipients of the Distinguished Service Cross, 4 of the Navy Cross, 82 of the Distinguished Flying Cross, 2 of the Distinguished Service Medal, 4 of the Air Medal, 3 of the Navy and Marine Corps Medal, 16 of the Legion of Merit, 22 of Bronze Stars, and 7 of Silver Stars, and 8 of miscellaneous and foreign awards. No Negro received the Congressional Medal of Honor in either world war, but 35 in the Army and 8 in the Navy had been given this highest award in the period 1863 to 1898.

Negroes served in all branches of the Army and Navy during the Second World War although in some services they were limited to the proverbial handful. As of Aug. 31, 1945, the Negro strength of the various services was as follows: Army, 695,264, including 7,768 commissioned officers; Navy, 166,915, including 60 officers; Marine Corps, which admitted Negroes for the first time in its history, 16,964, including 1 officer; Coast Guard, the first branch of the naval service to commission Negroes as officers, 3,732, including 4 commissioned officers and 968 warrant and petty officers. It is estimated that out of a total of 250,000 men in the Merchant Marine approximately 25,000 were Negroes. Although Negroes served in more branches of the armed forces than ever before, the proportion of combat troops was still small. Nevertheless, Negro units performed essential services in construction, such as on the Alcan Highway to Alaska and the Ledo Road to China, in ordnance supply, and in transportation service in which they made perhaps their most impressive contribution to ultimate victory. Of the combat units, with the exception of the 92nd Division which had a spotty record in Italy, all acquitted themselves well, and several had outstanding records for which they received Presidential Unit Citations or special commendation from high-ranking officers.

SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION IN THE ARMED FORCES

In his study, *The Negro in the Armed Forces*, Seymour J. Schoenfeld, Lieutenant Commander, USNR, states that the pattern shown during the armed conflicts of the United States has been as follows: At first the Negro is practically ignored. Then as the nation requires his services, he is permitted to participate in the conflicts in limited and usually menial and laboring capacities. If the crisis becomes greater, he is permitted to fight and die for the nation that has in fact granted him only a secondary citizenship. Moreover, certain stereotyped prejudices against the Negro as a soldier still persist despite the fact that the record of the Negro in the wars of the United States has disproved them, such as the beliefs that the Negro is not amenable to discipline, that Negro troops must be commanded by white officers, that Negroes do not make good combat soldiers, that whites and Negroes cannot be successfully employed in mixed units, and that Negroes do not have the ability to learn the technical art and science of war. A number of similar myths concerning the attitudes of Negro and white soldiers were effectively dissolved by the scientific studies undertaken by the Army during the Second World War and prepared by S. A. Stouffer and a group of sociologists and social psychologists.

The American Negro has never been granted equality of opportunity in the service of his country. He has been barred from many branches of the armed forces, limited to laboring positions in others, restricted in advancement, and segregated. His chances of receiving officer training have been meager. From 1870, when the United States Military Academy at West Point admitted its first Negro student, to July, 1946, only 28 Negroes have been accepted, of whom 11 have graduated. One of these graduates was the late Colonel Charles Young, the highest ranking Negro officer at the time of the First World War. To prevent the promotion that was rightfully due him, he was retired on the pretext that he was physically unfit for active duty in France although he rode horseback from Ohio to Washington to disprove the charge. Finally he was retained as military attaché in Liberia, where he died of tropical fever in 1923. The first, and to date only, Negro to become a Brigadier General in the United States Army is Benjamin O. Davis, promoted to that position in 1940. He was not

put in active command but was attached to the Inspector General's office in Washington. He retired in 1948, after fifty years of service in the regular Army. His son, Col. Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., a West Point graduate, was commander of the Negro flying unit in the Second World War. Only six Negroes have been admitted to the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis in the period 1872 to 1946, including one attending during the last-mentioned year. Two others were admitted in the following two years, and in June, 1949, for the first time in the history of the Naval Academy a Negro, Wesley A. Brown, was graduated.

Soon after the Selective Training and Service Act was passed in 1940, the War Department issued a statement defining army policy in regard to Negroes: Negroes would be used "on the general basis of proportion of the Negro population of the country"; Negro organizations would be established in each major branch of the service, combatant as well as noncombatant; Negroes would have opportunity to qualify for reserve commissions; and Negro reserve officers eligible for active duty would be assigned to Negro units officered by colored personnel. The statement concluded with a reaffirmation of the policy of segregation:

The policy of the War Department is not to intermingle colored and white enlisted personnel in the same regimental organizations. This policy has proven satisfactory over a long period of years and to make changes would produce situations destructive to morale and detrimental to the preparation for national defense.

All the leading Negro associations and newspapers and some white organizations were quick to protest this Jim Crow policy. They held that the whole system was an expression of a philosophy of racial superiority at variance with the fundamentals of democracy. Army officials replied that the Army did not make our racial attitudes but could only take them as it found them; that it could not depart radically in the treatment of its personnel from civilian practices openly or tacitly supported by the bulk of the population. It is worth considering, however, that in a time of national crisis mass attitudes are more fluid than ordinarily, and hence emotion-charged questions such as race relations and interracial co-operation can be boldly attacked. "The armed forces," said Dollard and Young (p. 66), authorities chiefly responsible for two outstanding army manuals, *Command of Negro Troops* and

Leadership and the Negro Soldier, "are open to criticism not because they do not defy public opinion but because of their tendency to lag far behind the possibilities for step-by-step racial integration in advance of ordinary civilian practice."

Among the practices under Army policy that aroused greatest feeling was that of using Negro medical men only in segregated Negro wards of cantonment hospitals and excluding them from general Army and base hospitals. As of Aug. 31, 1945, there were 576 Negro commissioned officers in the Medical Corps, 116 in the Dental Corps, and 479 in the Nurse Corps. In 1948 the Army accepted its first Negro in the regular Army Nurse Corps. The Women's Army Corps (WAC) included Negroes from the start. At the peak of its strength it enrolled 3,902 Negro women, including 115 officers.

Another thorny question was that of aviation training for Negroes. At first they were completely barred from the Air Corps. In 1941 a qualified Negro applicant filed a suit in the Federal courts, demanding that his application be considered on its merits. Before it was tried, the Army announced that a Negro pursuit squadron would be formed, and later a training base at Tuskegee Institute, set up by private resources of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, was taken over. The belated provision for aviation training for Negroes, the meager size of the segregated program, the fact that with adequate training fields already in existence a Jim Crow air field was built—all this, as Beulah Amidon (p. 324) reported, was resented by Negroes and also by many white Americans. In January, 1943, Judge William H. Hastie resigned as Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War in protest against the discrimination and limitation of opportunity of Negro aviation cadets. The all-Negro 99th Pursuit Squadron, trained at Tuskegee, and the 332nd Fighter Group, activated in 1943 at Selfridge Field, Michigan, into which the former was later merged, performed so well in the Mediterranean Theater that they received the Presidential Distinguished Unit Citation.

The backbone of segregation in the Army has been separation by unit. Although this practice remained unchanged during the war, Dollard and Young point out (pp. 67-68) that certain breaks occurred in the general pattern which augur well for the eventual integration of the Negro in the army. "Of these, the official order [July 8, 1944] banning segregation in theaters, post exchanges,

service clubs, and buses operating within Army establishments was the most publicized and perhaps least important." Less publicized but of greater symbolic importance were two other departures from traditional practice. The first was the abandonment of segregation in all officers' candidate schools except those for Air Force flying personnel. Whites and Negroes slept, ate, and trained together with a minimum of friction and with very few complaints. It was a conclusive demonstration that, at least on the level of officer training, integration could be accomplished without loss of military efficiency. The second break in the pattern of segregation resulted from an experiment in the European Theater of Operations in 1945, sanctioned by Lieutenant General John C. H. Lee, in which Negro infantry platoons served in white companies. Negro enlisted men in service units were permitted to volunteer for duty as infantrymen, with the understanding that after the necessary training they would be committed to front-line duty with white companies. About 2,500 Negroes took advantage of the opportunity and eventually saw combat duty. This was the first time in the recent history of the Army that Negroes and whites operated as members of a single company. A study made by the Army Research Branch at ETO headquarters in May-June, 1945, disclosed that the opinions of the white company grade officers and platoon sergeants changed from being predominantly unfavorable to the idea beforehand to being predominantly favorable as a result of the experience; and over 80 per cent of them responded that the colored soldiers performed very well in combat.

This experiment bore fruit in the postwar decision of the War Department to discontinue organization of Negro troops in divisions in favor of "Negro regiments or groups, separate battalions or squadrons, and separate companies, troops or batteries." The Board of Officers under the chairmanship of Lieutenant General Alvan Gillem, Jr., which studied Army policy concerning the utilization of Negro manpower, reported on Mar. 4, 1946, that "experiments and other experiences of World War II indicate clearly that the most successful employment of Negro units occurred when they were employed as units closely associated with whites on similar tasks, and a greater degree of success was obtained when small Negro organizations were so employed." Some Negro commentators held that the basic policy was still Jim Crow: instead of having big Jim Crow units like the 92nd

and 93d Infantry Divisions (15,000 to 18,000 men), there would be nothing larger than Jim Crow regiments (3,000 men). On the other hand, the recommendations of the Gillem Board provided for considerable relaxation of the previous policy of segregation and suggested a rational line of future action. Dollard and Young (p. 115) state:

Obviously it soon should be followed by the abolition of Negro regiments through the association of Negro and white companies within regiments. The next step would be the abolition of Negro companies and assignment of Negro and white platoons to the same company. Complete integration could, and probably would, follow almost automatically. . . . It may be criticized as a program of compromise or "gradualism," but it could be initiated at once and in all probability could be carried to its conclusion in something less than fifteen years.

The Gillem report represented a long step forward by the War Department. It frankly admitted the failure of the Army to make plans for the use of Negro troops in all categories in the Second World War. It stated that selective service brought in more Negroes of training, education, and ability than the War Department imagined were available. The extent to which educational opportunities for Negroes had increased since 1917 is strikingly illustrated in the comparison of Negro soldiers by education in the First and Second World Wars. In the First World War only 4 per cent of Negro soldiers had gone to high school and only 1 per cent were high school graduates, while in the Second World War the respective percentages were 26 and 17. The Gillem report recognized the progress that Negroes have made. It called for the use of Negro technicians as specialists in certain places without segregation, and it promised that Negro officers would be given equality of opportunity and would be promoted on merit. Finally, it continued the new nondiscrimination policy on Army posts, stations, and installations, outlawing Jim Crow theaters, post exchanges, bus routes, and recreation, and it recommended the training of Negroes insofar as possible in areas and communities not hostile and prejudiced toward them.

During the war the Navy made more rapid progress than the Army in the integration of Negro personnel. It also had farther to go, since at the start of the war Negroes were entirely excluded from the Marines and accepted in the Navy only as messmen

in the Stewards Branch. "Waiters and bellhops going to sea" was the scornful way in which one irate Negro described this service. Actually, the messmen were trained for battle duty and were fighters first and stewards second. Their promotion, however, was limited and never took them out of what they regarded as the servant class. During the course of the war the Navy was able to change its policy from exclusion of Negroes from all branches of the service, except stewards' mates, to acceptance of Negroes for general but segregated service, to final abolition of all segregated training and assignments. No small part in this transformation was played by Lester B. Granger, executive secretary of the National Urban League, who served in 1945 as Special Adviser to the Secretary of the Navy, James Forrestal; for these services he was presented the Distinguished Civilian Service Award.

The first step in the new policy of the Navy was taken in 1942 when it announced that Negroes would be accepted for enlistment in the Naval Reserve and allowed to apply for ratings in the Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard. This did not mean, however, free service opportunity, and the Negroes were employed largely in handling ammunition and loading ships. Their reaction was marked by despair and resentment. The impairment of morale was highlighted by three dramatic events. Following the explosion at the Port Chicago Ammunition Depot in California, in which 300 Negroes were killed, a detachment of 250 survivors, assigned to loading an ammunition ship at nearby Mare Island, refused to work, claiming inadequate training and safety provisions for this hazardous job. In face of repeated warnings, 50 persisted in their refusal and were court-martialed for mutiny. The second mass demonstration was a race riot on Guam between Negro seamen and white Marine guards. The Negroes were court-martialed on several charges, found guilty, and sentenced. The third event was a hunger strike of Negro Seabees at Port Hueneme, a naval supply base in California. The battalion had been overseas for months and after meritorious performance had been returned for rest and relaxation. Charging unfair and racially discriminatory treatment by the white commanding officer, they went on a hunger strike, which ended with the transference of the officer in question, and the battalion was

soon shipped back overseas to Okinawa to resume meritorious performance.

Meantime the ban against Negro women in the WAVES and SPARS was dropped, on Oct. 19, 1944, and their enlistment accepted. As of September, 1945, there were 5 Negroes in the Women's Auxiliary (SPARS) of the Coast Guard, and 68 in the Women's Reserve (WAVES) of the Navy, including 2 officers and 38 officer candidates. There were no Negro women in the Marine Corps at any time.

In 1945 the Navy revised its policy regarding Negro enlisted men. It provided for extended use of Negroes on auxiliary and combat ships, it decreased racial separation, increased the number of Negro commissioned officers, removed segregation in the training schools, and expanded the number and variety of assignments. The revised policy in the fall of 1945 was made a permanent policy in the regular as well as the reserve Navy. Finally, an official directive from the Bureau of Naval Personnel, dated Feb. 28, 1946, removed all remaining limitations and separations. It declared:

Effective immediately, all restrictions governing the types of assignments for which Negro naval personnel are eligible are lifted. Henceforth they shall be eligible for all types of assignments in all ratings in all activities and all ships of the naval service. . . . In the utilization of housing, messing, and other facilities, no special or unusual provisions will be made for the accommodation of Negroes.

It is significant that all this was accomplished with a minimum of friction and confusion and a maximum of efficiency.

Finally, it may be said that in spite of the segregation and discrimination to which Negroes were subjected during the war, the training and experience in the armed forces were of tremendous advantage to them. They were well housed and well fed; their health was safeguarded and their strength built up. For all the humiliations of segregated service, thousands of Negroes realized that it was only in uniform that they had ever known anything approaching a decent standard of living. Moreover, the educational effects were considerable. They were trained and disciplined; they saw other parts of the country and of the world. Their horizons were widened, and they gained confidence in their own ability and worth. For a million young Negroes to

have had such an experience represents a great advance for the race, and it will have its effect in improving the status of the Negro in the United States.

The question of segregation and discrimination in the armed services became a political issue in 1948. It came to the fore when Congress considered the proposal of a peacetime draft and compulsory military service. A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, told the Senate Armed Services Committee that, if segregation were not eliminated, he would lead a civil-disobedience campaign and urge Negroes and sympathetic whites to refuse to register for the draft. This action was disavowed by other Negro leaders, including Walter White, executive secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. A move to ban segregation by amendment of the peacetime Selective Service Act, which was passed in June, 1948, failed. However, the political parties, meeting in convention the following month, included such a plank in their platforms. On July 26, 1948, President Truman issued an executive order calling for "equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin" and stating that "this policy shall be put into effect as rapidly as possible, having due regard to the time required to effectuate any necessary changes without impairing efficiency or morale." To enforce this order he created in the National Military Establishment an advisory committee to be known as the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services. Although persons interested in promoting the rights of Negroes regarded this order as a step in the right direction, they called attention to the fact that it set no deadline for action and made no mention of ending segregation. The segregation rule was eased somewhat by the directive issued on Apr. 20, 1949, by Louis Johnson, Secretary of Defense, which put this practice on a permissive rather than a mandatory basis.

PROBLEMS ON THE HOME FRONT

While Negroes resented most of all the discrimination in the armed forces, because it was most symbolic of their lack of acceptance as equal members of American democracy, they also felt aggrieved at their treatment as "second-class citizens" in the defense program. As was mentioned in an earlier chapter, they

encountered discrimination by labor unions, by industry, and in training courses for defense employment. Despite the great shortage of labor in defense industries at the start of the war—a shortage so acute that legislation was proposed to draft labor—there were more than a million unemployed or underemployed Negroes in the United States. Grievances mounted, feeling ran high, and a mass March on Washington movement was organized by the colored labor leader A. Philip Randolph. In order to prevent this protest march, the President issued Executive Order 8802 on June 25, 1941, abolishing discrimination because of "race, creed, color, or national origin" in the defense industries and in the Federal government itself. In reply to a query sent out in January, 1942, by the U.S. Employment Service to hundreds of industrialists with large war contracts as to whether they would employ Negroes, 51 per cent of them stated that they did not and would not, and only half of the remainder stated that they would hire them without any question. Slowly jobs in industry were opened to Negroes, but only because of dire necessity created by the manpower shortage.

To counteract Negro unrest and to secure more equitable treatment for them many Federal agencies adopted the technique of appointing racial consultants and advisers. Among these office-holders, who along with earlier appointees in New Deal agencies constituted the President's Black Cabinet, were a civilian aide to the Secretary of War, a director of Negro manpower service of the War Manpower Commission, a director of Negro activities for the National Youth Administration, a racial adviser of the Office of Facts and Figures, consultants in the National Housing Agency and the Federal Public Housing Administration, special assistants to the Secretary of Agriculture, a member of the Committee on Fair Employment Practice, and a director of racial relations in the Office of Civilian Defense. The Office of War Information, which had an advisory committee of Negro newspaper publishers, issued in 1943 a booklet entitled *Negroes and the War* in official recognition of their contribution to the war effort and in the armed forces. The War Department issued an excellent film, "The Negro Soldier," which was exhibited in all army camp theaters. This picture was widely hailed by Negro organizations and leaders, and *The Crisis* stated editorially (March, 1944): "It will thrill every Negro American and educate every white Ameri-

can who sees it." Negro newspaper editors were invited to the war maneuvers of the Third Army in Louisiana to see for themselves that the 93d Division of Negro enlisted men were being well trained in the use of all the latest weapons of modern warfare. Eighteen Liberty ships, ocean-going cargo vessels under the Maritime Commission, were named for outstanding Negro Americans and for Negro seamen who lost their lives in the war; four Victory ships were named for Negro colleges; and, as previously mentioned, a naval destroyer escort, the U.S.S. *Harmon*, was named in honor of a Negro mess attendant who lost his life in the Battle of Guadalcanal.

As against these efforts to give recognition and hope to disillusioned Negroes, perhaps no single event did more damage to Negro morale than the action of the American Red Cross in first refusing to accept the blood of Negro donors and then in segregating it, for no scientific reason whatsoever. When the blood donor service was started in 1941, the American Red Cross adopted the policy of not accepting blood donations from Negroes. When this became known and was strongly protested, the Red Cross, after consultation with Army and Navy officials, announced on Jan. 21, 1942, a new policy whereby the blood of Negro donors would be accepted but would be kept separate from "white" blood plasma. The Red Cross acknowledged that there is no physiological difference between the blood plasma of persons of different races, but stated: "In deference to the wishes of those for whom the plasma is being provided, the blood will be processed separately so that those receiving transfusions may be given plasma from blood of their own race." The implication not only of race prejudice but of a belief in Negro inferiority was all too clear to be lost even on the unsophisticated Negro. The reaction was violent in Negro communities throughout the country. *The Crisis* (October, 1942, p. 311) stated in an editorial: "This humiliating and wholly unscientific Jim Crow plan is as widely and bitterly resented as any single act in the past twenty years." Many whites as well as Negroes regarded it as a gratuitous insult to the race. The Committee on Race Relations of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists issued a public statement in which it stated (quoted in *Phylon*, fourth quarter, 1942, pp. 431-432):

There is no evidence that the blood of Negroes differs in any significant respect from that of whites. . . . The segregation of the blood of whites from the blood of Negroes in the blood bank is, therefore, not only unscientific, but it is a grievous affront to the largest minority group in our country. This policy of the American Red Cross appears even more indefensible when one considers the origins of some of the substances which are widely and effectively used in modern medical practice and which are readily accepted by the patient.

An ironic note was added to the controversy when it was learned that the scientist who perfected the techniques of separating and preserving blood plasma was a Negro physician, Dr. Charles R. Drew, professor of surgery at Howard University Medical School.

During the war period much public concern was aroused over the discrimination against Negro soldiers and sailors in matters of civil rights and the apparent failure of the Army and Navy to enforce respect for the uniform outside of military centers. Negroes in the uniform of the nation were frequently barred from restaurants, theaters, and other public places, discriminated against in public transportation, mistreated by civilians and local police authorities in areas of the South, beaten, intimidated, and killed. The location of most large Army camps in the South gave rise to antagonisms resulting from the influx of Negro soldiers in small communities where the soldiers went for recreation. Clashes occurred in numerous places between Negro and white soldiers or between Negro soldiers and white civilians.

More common and serious were the war-born race riots which occurred in certain congested defense centers both in the North and in the South. Some of these were disturbances over the hiring and upgrading of Negro workers. Others, like the Detroit riot in June, 1943, arose out of competition between the races for housing, jobs, and common public facilities or, like the Harlem riot a few weeks later, were a revelation of mass frustration caused by discrimination, overcrowding, dearth of facilities, rent and price gouging, and resentment against civilian violence toward the Negro in uniform. Irritation and friction between the races were sufficiently widespread to lead over two hundred communities to set up official or nonofficial race-relations committees with the primary object of preventing riots.

CONFLICT BETWEEN THE TREATMENT ACCORDED TO NEGROES AND
OUR WAR AIMS

Despite momentary manifestations to the contrary, the war released an upsurge of democratic sentiment. The nation suddenly became discrimination conscious. The wide discrepancy between our professed war aims of democracy and freedom and the treatment meted out to the Negroes and other racial minorities was too obvious to be ignored. Ideologically the war was a struggle between the democratic ideals of freedom, justice, and tolerance and the totalitarian principles of slavery, oppression, and intolerance. It was clearly inconsistent to wage a war for democracy without at the same time fulfilling that democracy at home. "Our very proclamations of what we are fighting for," said Wendell Willkie (reported in *The Crisis*, September, 1942, p. 301), "have rendered our own inequities self-evident. When we talk of freedom and opportunity for all nations, the mocking paradoxes in our own society become so clear they can no longer be ignored." The proclamation of the Four Freedoms by President Roosevelt had internal as well as external implications. Especially at stake, from the Negro standpoint, were "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear," which, interpreted domestically, implied freedom from unemployment, from barriers to jobs, and from inability to advance and freedom from fear of discrimination, social humiliation, intolerance, and mob violence. To the Negro group, these represented goals to be achieved rather than an established way of life to be defended. They looked to the war effort as a means of overcoming the restrictions imposed upon them.

In addition to the generous, liberal, and democratic tradition in America, as McWilliams (p. 67) has pointed out, there has also been a narrow, bigoted, and authoritarian tradition, the latter being manifested primarily in the treatment of colored minorities. There were some Americans during the war who would not sacrifice their race prejudices even for the sake of victory. Several white companies in the South refused to accept war orders because of the clause in defense contracts against discrimination in the employment of workers, and some Southern newspapermen and other influential persons asserted that, if winning the war meant greater freedom to the Southern Negro, they would prefer

to lose the war. On the other hand, under the exigency of war it became generally realized that tolerance had ceased to be a matter of sentiment and had become a stern necessity. Discrimination against minorities injured the democratic tradition, weakened national morale, and retarded the effectiveness of the war effort. The seriousness of the problem was recognized by the government and by private organizations, which undertook to reduce discrimination. It became our assignment to demonstrate to the world that peoples of diverse racial and national origins could live and work together in a democratic society.

Not only did the age-old pattern of anti-Negro prejudice endanger national unity, it also seriously impaired American international influence and prestige. Axis propaganda exploited our race problems in an effort to undermine Negro morale, destroy our confidence in the cause for which we fought, and weaken our international standing. The failure to apply at home what we preached abroad impaired our good neighbor policy. Latin American countries were apprehensive lest closer military and economic ties with the United States might lead to the introduction of its racial attitudes. The Negro's fate in the United States also affected the solidarity of our alliance with hundreds of millions of colored people in China, India, Africa, and elsewhere. Indeed, as the war developed, the Negro question was extended from a backyard domestic issue into a world-wide problem of the treatment of colonial peoples, especially by our British allies; and imperialism with its concomitants of exploitation and race prejudice came under attack. Thus, both nationally and internationally, color became the acid test of our fundamental honesty in putting into practice the democracy we preached.

REACTION OF THE NEGRO

More than any other war in which the United States has engaged, the Second World War magnified the Negro's awareness of the disparity between the American profession and practice of democracy. This was due to many factors, including the clear-cut nature of the war issues, the large number of Negroes involved in the war effort, and the increased race consciousness of the Negro masses. The First World War was a disillusioning experience for the Negro, but its effect was less widespread. One of the outstanding blows to the Negro's hopes during that con-

flict was the order given by the staff army officers of the AEF to the French military authorities, outlining the treatment which should be accorded Negro soldiers—a document that was reprinted in the May, 1919, issue of *The Crisis* with damaging effect on Negro morale. There were three recommendations: first, there should be no undue familiarity between French and Negro officers; second, the American Negro troops should not be praised too highly by the French military officials; and third, the French population, especially the women, should be warned against associating with Negro soldiers. In the war to “make the world safe for democracy,” the Negroes asked why should not democracy begin at home. They wanted to know why they should work and fight for democracy and not be allowed to vote for it. Not only were their hopes for “a new freedom” frustrated, but there appeared to be an attempt in many sections of the country to fix their status more unalterably than before.

In the period between the two world wars great changes had occurred in the condition of the Negro which were reflected in his attitude toward the Second World War. These changes, as summarized by Frazier (p. 375), included his educational advance and his increased contact with the larger world of ideas, destruction of the traditional relationship of loyalty to whites and the substitution of race consciousness and loyalty to his race, migration to the North and the enjoyment of a greater degree of civic equality, increased political power, a more educated and sophisticated leadership, and the development of the Negro press and other agencies of mass appeal. As a result, the Negro to a greater degree than ever before was aware of the inequities of his situation and determined to correct them.

Soon after the program of national defense began, the militant mood of the Negro became apparent, and it was abated only when measures were taken to remove some of the disabilities. The Negro was agitated, not because he was asked to fight for America, but because full participation in the fight was denied him. There was never any question of his loyalty, though his sympathies were on the side of the darker races. Many Negroes would have liked to have seen the Axis powers punish Great Britain for her treatment of the colored peoples of her colonies. Until they were disillusioned by Japan's actions in China and the Southeast Pacific, American Negroes believed that Japan was

fighting the battle of the darker races against white imperialism. They showed no desire to defend American prestige in the Far East, for they felt that this prestige was based on the theory of white supremacy which had debased American democracy at home and abroad. They were chiefly concerned not with questions of foreign policy but with the conduct of the war itself, the internal administration of the war effort, and the implication of the war aims to the status of the Negro at home.

What the Negroes wanted was an equal chance to work in the war industries and an equal chance to fight for their country in any branch of the service. They wanted to feel that this was their war and that their contribution to it would also be a contribution to their own liberation. What they complained most about was the denial of their full participation in the war effort as if they were not an integral part of American society. "It's our country, too," they proclaimed as they demanded the right to be allowed to fight for it on an equal basis. Because they had to fight discrimination in order to fight for their country and to earn a living, many Negroes were filled with resentment and despair. Since a prime element in morale is the identification of the individual with the collective enterprise, Negro morale suffered as a result of his being excluded from sharing on a fair and equitable basis.

The low morale of the Negro in the armed services expressed itself in apathy, passive resistance, cynicism and despair, sporadic aggression and actual rebellion. The treatment of the Negro overseas, as reported after firsthand investigation by Walter White in *A Rising Wind*, added to his resentment. There were "off limit" rules on the basis of race, Red Cross segregation in clubs, false charges of rape, malignant circulars and posters, cases of Negro combat troops wilfully deprived of combat service, and other injustices. Only among Negro combatants was morale high.

On the home front Negroes asked such questions as these: What have Negroes to fight for? What's the difference between Hitler and Talmadge? Why has a man got to be Jim-Crowed to die for democracy? If you haven't got democracy yourself, how can you carry it to somebody else? According to a story in *PM* (July 18, 1942), a Negro composer, Jimmy Davis, refused for months to be inducted into the service as a protest against Jim Crowism. "I want to fight Hitlerism and its racial superiority

myth," he said, "but I can't see how I can fight it in an army that practices racial discrimination." Early in the war a Southern Negro college student was reported by Walter White ("What the Negro Thinks of the Army," p. 67) to have replied as follows to the assertion that conditions would be worse under Hitler: "They can't possibly be any worse than they are for Negroes in the South right now. The Army Jim-Crows us. The Navy lets us serve only as messmen. The Red Cross refuses our blood. Employers and labor unions shut us out. Lynchings continue. We are disfranchised, Jim-Crowed, spat upon. What more could Hitler do than that?"

An amusing, and devastating, folklore indicative of their bitter attitudes grew up among the Negroes. Examples, culled from various sources, are as follows. A sharecropper said, as he accepted his usual less-than-fair share of produce from his landlord: "I hear dem Japanese done declare war on you white folks." A boot-black said to a colored customer: "I see where we done took Singapore from de *ofays* [whites]." A Negro recruit, on being drafted, remarked: "Just put on my tombstone: 'Here lies a black man, killed fighting a yellow man, for the protection of a white man.'" The following conversation occurred between two Negro servicemen: "Yonder goes a Negro who knows more about electricity than the man that invented it." "Yeah? What ditch is he digging in?" A Negro youth at a student conference: "America is the land of the free and the home of the brave; that is, the free white and the brave Negro." A similar version: "Instead of all living under the stars and stripes forever, some live under the stars and others under the stripes." A little colored girl, asked to name a fitting punishment for Hitler, replied: "Make him black and make him live in America."

The Negro was frankly skeptical of our sincerity in our announced war aims which were summed up in the Atlantic Charter, the Four Freedoms of President Roosevelt, and the various speeches and pronouncements of high government officials—all proclaiming that we were fighting for the liberation of all peoples, for democracy, and for equality of opportunity. While they supported the country in the war, Negroes carried on a fight for democracy and equality for themselves at the same time. Their leaders called for not merely victory abroad but victory on the home front in the battle against discrimination,

race hatred, and social and economic barriers. Under the sponsorship of the *Pittsburgh Courier* a "Double V" campaign—Victory at Home and Victory Abroad—was launched, which received wide support. All this reaction and protest of the Negroes became crystallized in a program or set of demands which may be regarded as an expression of their hopes and expectations as a result of the war. These demands included abolition of segregation and discrimination in the armed services; equality of opportunity in employment and in job training; establishment of a Fair Employment Practice Commission as a permanent Federal agency; an end to Jim Crow in education, housing, transportation, and other services; removal of all racial barriers in the exercise of the suffrage; a Federal anti-poll-tax law; a Federal anti-lynching law; Negro representation on the policy-making level in Federal administration; extension of the Atlantic Charter to Africa and the nations of the East; and representation for Negro and other minority racial groups on all missions, political and technical, sent to the peace conference so that the interests of all people everywhere may be fully recognized and justly provided for in the postwar settlement.

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CHAPTER 16

LYNCHINGS AND RACE RIOTS

The greatest injustice inflicted on the American Negro is the violation of his fundamental right to safety and security of the person. He has long been the helpless victim of lawless violence. This has taken the form either of lynchings, in which particular individuals are the objects of destructive action, or race riots, in which the destructive action is aimed at anyone identified with the opposing racial group. Although in actual numbers only a small proportion of the Negro population has directly suffered, perhaps the majority live under the harrowing fear of violence or death at the hands of a mob. It has been said that the threat of lynching always hangs over the head of the Southern Negro; and in the North as well as in the South the fear of other forms of violence is constant. This situation derives in large part from the fact that whites, especially in the South, have enjoyed almost complete immunity from punishment for such offenses against Negroes. Moreover, lynching is the ultimate threat by which his inferior status is driven home to the Negro. As a terrorist device, it reinforces all the other disabilities placed upon him. In turn, the crime of lynching, like other mob action, is destructive of all principles of government. As the President's Committee on Civil Rights (*To Secure These Rights*, p. 6) stated: "Where a society permits private and arbitrary violence to be done to its members, its own integrity is inevitably corrupted. It cannot permit human beings to be imprisoned or killed in the absence of due process of law without degrading its entire fabric." The persistence and immunity with which such lawless practices occur in the United States is a disgrace to the nation and an international scandal.

HISTORY OF LYNCHING

Lynching, a practice peculiar to the United States, goes back to the colonial period. In origin it was an extra-legal device to punish lawlessness and restore peace and security. It was a pro-

cedure of administering corporal punishment for reformatory or corrective purposes—for “regulating” public offenders and grievances. It derived its name from Colonel Charles Lynch, a Revolutionary patriot, who with some neighbors in Bedford County, Virginia, undertook to mete out punishment to Tories and desperadoes who were harassing the Continentals and plundering their property. The nearest court was over two hundred miles away. So Colonel Lynch and other leading citizens decided to take matters into their own hands. They formed an organization with Lynch at the head. Suspected persons were apprehended and brought to his house where they were tried by a court composed of himself as presiding justice and three others as associate justices. If found guilty, the accused was sentenced to receive 39 lashes on the bare back and, if he did not then shout “Liberty Forever,” to be hanged up by the thumbs until he did so. After the Revolution the Virginia general assembly sanctioned the proceedings of this “court” as illegal but justifiable. This explains in part how the name of a Virginia patriot got mixed up in the genealogy of lynching. Because of the prominence of Colonel Lynch and the uniqueness of the punishments, he came to be known as Judge Lynch and the practice as Lynch’s law and later as lynch-law or lynching. It is a far cry, however, from his court of special sessions to the barbarities that were later committed in his name.

Up to 1830, according to Cutler’s authoritative treatise, *Lynch-law*, the practice consisted of summary justice of the regulative type, with the infliction of some form of corporal punishment, particularly whipping and tarring and feathering, or of banishment from the community. Thereafter, however, as the practice developed on the frontier in the West and Southwest, it underwent considerable modification. The tendency arose toward less reliance on legal procedures and greater readiness on the part of the people to take justice into their own hands, especially with reference to such serious frontier crimes as horse stealing, cattle lifting, highway robbery, and murder. The lack of a well-established civil government and doubt on the part of the people as to the adequacy of the ordinary legal machinery were factors in the increasing frequency with which lynch-law was resorted to. Also, instead of corporal punishment, the death penalty was inflicted, usually by hanging. Prior to the Civil War Negroes were

seldom lynched. The victims were mainly white, as they continued to be up to 1890. Summary practices were adopted against Negroes during Reconstruction, and they have continued to the present day whereas the lynching of whites with the passing of the frontier has practically disappeared. Thus the term "lynching," which originally meant the infliction of corporal punishment by a group who acted, in the absence of established courts of justice, extra-legally, but in no spirit of insubordination or disregard of the law, has come to signify an illegal and summary execution, principally of Negroes, at the hands of a mob in complete defiance of established law and order.

Although lynching may be popularly defined as summary and illegal punishment by death at the hands of a mob, it is necessary to have a closer definition for legal or statistical purposes. From the legal standpoint, the writers of Federal anti-lynching bills have generally accepted the following definition:

Any assemblage of three or more persons which shall exercise or attempt to exercise by physical violence and without authority of law any power of correction or punishing over any citizen or citizens or other person or persons in the custody of any peace officer or suspected of, charged with, or convicted of, the commission of any offense, with the purpose or consequences of preventing the apprehension or trial or punishment by law of such citizen or citizens, person or persons, shall constitute a "mob" within the meaning of this Act. Any such violence by a mob which results in the death or maiming of the victim or victims thereof shall constitute "lynching" within the meaning of this Act: Provided, however, that "lynching" shall not be deemed to include violence occurring between members of groups of lawbreakers such as are commonly designated as gangsters or racketeers, nor violence occurring during the course of picketing or boycotting or any incident in connection with any "labor dispute" as that term is defined and used in the Act of March 23, 1932.

In 1940 the leading agencies engaged in compiling lynching statistics met in conference at Tuskegee Institute to work out a method of determining lynchings so that the issuance of different sets of figures might be prevented. This conference set up the following criteria:

1. There must be legal evidence that a person was killed.
2. The person must have met death illegally.

3. A group must have participated in the killing.

4. The group must have acted under pretext of service to justice, race, or tradition.

The last-mentioned criterion, while more difficult to measure, is the most significant. As Cutler (p. 276) remarks:

. . . there is usually more or less public approval, or supposed favorable public sentiment, behind a lynching. Indeed, it is not too much to say that popular justification is the *sine qua non* of lynching. It is this fact that distinguishes lynching, on the one hand, from assassination and murder, and, on the other hand, from insurrection and open warfare.

Although ordinary lynching can be readily recognized, there are many borderline cases that cause concern. It is becoming increasingly difficult to define lynching since its character is changing. As a result of mounting opposition, lynching is going underground; the victim is done away with quietly by a few persons instead of by a large mob. Seldom now are there spectacular man hunts with large groups participating. Mobs are more likely to be orderly and secretive and to commit few lynchings within the accepted definitions. In these circumstances it is hard to distinguish between lynching and murder, especially where the victim is accidentally found in a community in which there have been no reports of any trouble. The marked decline in the number of lynchings since 1930, and especially since 1940, may thus be more apparent than real, though there is no doubt that lynching is on the wane.

RECORD OF LYNCHINGS

Reliable statistics on the number of lynchings date from 1882 when the *Chicago Tribune* began to publish at the end of each year an itemized summary of the disasters and crimes in the United States. This annual report was maintained for over twenty years. Cutler (p. 161) used it as the basis for his estimate of 3,337 persons lynched in the period 1882 to 1903. Since 1911 the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has kept records of lynchings, and since 1913 the Department of Records and Research of Tuskegee Institute has done likewise. The estimates do not always agree, owing in part to different definitions of lynching and to differences in the treatment of

borderline cases. Moreover, the chief reliance for data is on reports in the press, and the coverage varies. Since many lynchings have not been reported and since many suspected cases are difficult to verify, the statistics represent an underestimate.

In the period from 1882 through 1947 the total number of lynchings was 4,717 (including 1,291 whites and 3,426 Negroes) according to Tuskegee Institute figures, and 5,155 (including 1,456 whites and 3,699 Negroes) according to those of N.A.A.C.P. In both instances, Negroes comprised about 72 per cent of the victims. In less than 1 per cent of the cases of these thousands of persons done to death has any lyncher been convicted.

The record of lynchings by periods with a breakdown by race, available only in the Tuskegee Institute reports, is shown in the accompanying table.

LYNCHINGS, WHITES AND NEGROES, BY PERIODS 1882-1947

Period	Total	Whites	Negroes
1882-1889	1,203	669	534
1890-1899	1,540	429	1,111
1900-1909	885	94	791
1910-1919	616	53	563
1920-1929	315	34	281
1930-1939	131	11	120
1940-1947	27	1	26
Totals.....	4,717	1,291	3,426

The greatest number of lynchings occurred in 1892 when there were 231 instances according to one account, 235 according to another. From this peak year and the peak period of the 1890's the number of lynchings, while showing marked annual variations, has steadily declined, especially in the case of whites. Two lynchings occurred in 1948 and one during the first half of 1949, all of them in Georgia. One of these victims was a white man; the other two were Negroes.

At least 101 women have been the victims of lynching mobs. The largest number of such cases (42) occurred during the 1890's; the peak year was 1895 when 8 colored and 5 white women

were lynched. The latest incident occurred in 1946 in Georgia during the lynching of Roger Malcolm, Negro, charged with stabbing his former employer. Malcolm was seized while driving with his wife and another Negro couple. When one of the women recognized a member of the mob who came to lynch Malcolm, all four were killed.

Lynchings have occurred in every section of the country except

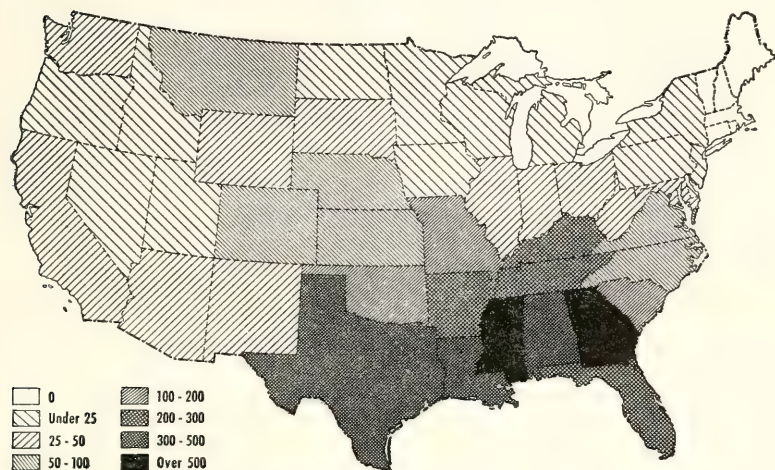


FIG. 6. Lynchings, 1882-1947, by states.

New England. They have been most frequent in the South and in the West. The record by states, covering the period 1882 to 1947, shows that the worst offenders have been as follows (including only those with more than 100 lynchings each, according to Tuskegee Institute figures): Mississippi 574, Georgia 525, Texas 489, Louisiana 391, Alabama 346, Arkansas 285, Florida 281, Tennessee 250, Kentucky 205, South Carolina 160, Oklahoma 123, Missouri 122. At the other extreme, the six New England states have never had a lynching, while New Jersey and Delaware have had just one each and New York only two.

Lynchings have occurred most characteristically in small and backward communities where the frontier tradition has survived and where police and court systems are weak. The Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching found that a direct relationship exists between lack of education, low economic status

and lynching danger. A study of the distribution of lynchings within 14 Southern states discloses that the smaller the population of a county, the higher the rate of lynching tends to become. Erle Young (p. 348) suggests that "the smaller units, because of the strength of local feelings and prejudices, are not able to deal with Negro crime impersonally and from the point of view of strict justice." Viewed seasonally, lynchings occur most frequently in the summer months, probably because there is more contact between the races at that time and more opportunity for disagreements and quarrels to arise.

Throughout the recorded history of lynching, the punishments inflicted have tended to increase in severity, and the victims have been tortured more and more until relieved by death. This tendency may be related to the facts that lynching has become more of an anachronism, is now carried on by a lower class of whites than formerly, and is given greater publicity with all the gruesome details in the newspapers. The mob is no longer content with mere killing by hanging or shooting. Burning alive, mutilations, and other tortures have become frequent in the latter days of lynching. This dominant element of sadism offers an important index to the character of the small and backward communities in which lynchings now most frequently occur. For sheer sadism and abnormal cruelty the lynching of Claude Neal at Marianna, Florida, in 1934 is outstanding; it has been documented by the N.A.A.C.P. Cutler (pp. 191-192) cites 24 cases of burning alive during the period 1882 to 1904 distributed as follows: 1 in the 1880's, 10 in the 1890's, and 13 in the period 1900 to 1904. All the victims were Negroes. An orgy of burning at the stake occurred in 1919 when 11 Negroes were lynched in this manner. From 1919 to 1942 a total of 47 persons, including 2 white men and 1 colored woman, were burned at the stake, and 24 bodies were burned after death.

The report of the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching (p. 40) gives the following description of a recent mob slaying:

The sheriff along with the accused Negro was seized by the mob, and the two were carried to the scene of the crime. Here quickly assembled a thousand or more men, women, and children. The accused Negro was hung up in a sweet-gum tree by his arms, just high enough to keep his feet off the ground. Members of the mob tortured

him for more than an hour. A pole was jabbed in his mouth. His toes were cut off joint by joint. His fingers were similarly removed, and members of the mob extracted his teeth with wire pliers. After further unmentionable mutilations, the Negro's still living body was saturated with gasoline and a lighted match was applied. As the flames leaped up, hundreds of shots were fired into the dying victim. During the day, thousands of people from miles around rode out to see the sight. Not till nightfall did the officers remove the body and bury it.

Frequently members of the mob at a torture lynching gather gruesome souvenirs of the slaying. Writes Brearley (p. 681): "Teeth and small bones from the victim may be carried in later years as watch charms or good-luck pieces. Larger bones and the rope may be kept to be exhibited to other Negroes to 'put the fear of God into them' or 'keep them in their places.' Such is the conduct motivated by race hatred and innate savagery!"

Cantril (p. 94), following Raper (pp. 55ff.), draws a distinction between a Bourbon and a proletariat lynching.

The Bourbon type of lynching is relatively exclusive and well regulated. It generally occurs in a Black-Belt area where there is a rigid demarcation between whites and blacks and where the leaders of the community believe that it is their duty to enforce community standards. Such lynchings are therefore often engineered by leading citizens with the knowledge of law-enforcement officers. The object is to punish a specific person for a specific crime. Other Negroes are protected. The mob is small and does not get out of hand. The fundamental motive is to assure white supremacy and maintain the accepted mores.

The proletariat type of lynching generally occurs in areas where Negroes are distinctly in the minority, where competition is keen between Negroes and poor whites, and where the object is to persecute the race rather than an individual. Such lynchings are more brutal, more publicized. They are led by members of the poorer, less established classes and disapproved by the better citizens of the community. There is little interest in proving the guilt of the alleged victim or even getting the right victim. After the lynching, the mob frequently persecutes other Negroes by destroying their property, beating or killing them.

Contrary to popular belief, which Southern demagogues have fostered, most of the victims of lynching have not been charged with the offense of rape. Murder or homicide has always been

the leading reason, with rape secondary. According to Cutler's study (pp. 174, 175), covering the period 1882 to 1903, only 8.5 per cent of the white and 34.3 per cent of the Negro victims were lynched for the crime of rape, either attempted, alleged, or actually committed. According to the study by Arthur Raper (p. 483), covering the period 1889 to 1932, only 23.5 per cent of the persons lynched were accused of rape or attempted rape. Finally, according to the *Negro Year Book, 1947* (edited by Jessie Parkhurst Guzman, p. 308) published by Tuskegee Institute, for the entire period 1882 to 1946 the percentage accused of rape or attempted rape was only 25.3. Its table of offenses charged is reproduced in the accompanying table.

CAUSES OF LYNCHINGS CLASSIFIED, 1882-1946

Causes	Number	Per cent
Homicide.....	1,934	41.0
Felonious assault.....	202	4.3
Rape.....	910	19.2
Attempted rape.....	288	6.1
Robbery and theft.....	231	5.0
Insult to white persons.....	84	1.8
All other causes.....	1,067	22.6
Totals.....	4,716	100.0

Included under the relatively large grouping of "All other causes" are minor offenses and trivial reasons, of which the following are examples: peeping in a window, not calling a white man "Mr.," writing to a white woman, sassing a white woman, trying to act like a white man, not knowing his place, attempting to vote, being active in politics, not stopping auto when ordered to, being too prosperous, disputing over the price of blackberries, and enticing servant away. There have also been cases of mistaken identity. Being charged with a crime does not necessarily mean that the person lynched was guilty. Some mob victims have been known to be innocent. The Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching (p. 35) thoroughly investigated the cases of the 21 persons lynched in 1930 and found that 2 of the victims were in-

nocent of crime (they were not even accused) and that grave doubt existed as to the guilt of 11 others. The N.A.A.C.P. states that at least 200 victims have been proved innocent after they were lynched.

When a Southerner attempts to justify lynching or other violence toward Negroes, he usually asserts that it is demanded in defense of white womanhood. This attitude was expressed in extreme form by Senator Cole L. Blease of South Carolina in 1930 when he bellowed at a political rally: "Whenever the Constitution comes between me and the virtue of the white women of the South, I say, To hell with the Constitution!" (Quoted in Cash, *The Mind of the South*, p. 248.) This statement was widely and severely condemned in the Southern press. There is scant justification for the myth that Negroes are prone to rape white women. James Weldon Johnson ("Lynching, America's National Disgrace," p. 598) has shown that the number of lynched Negroes accused of rape in a given period (1914 to 1918) throughout the entire United States is less than the actual number of persons in New York alone who were indicted for first-degree rape on evidence submitted to the New York grand jury. Not one of these persons indicted was a Negro. Myrdal (pp. 561-562) maintains that the figure of 23 per cent of the victims accused of raping or attempting to rape is inflated (1) by the fact that a mob which makes the accusation of rape is secure against further investigation, (2) by the broad Southern definition of rape to include all sex relations between Negro men and white women, and (3) by the psychopathic fears of white women in their contacts with Negro men.

This does not mean that sex, in a subtler sense, is not a background factor in lynching. The South has an obsession with sex which helps to make this region quite irrational in dealing with Negroes generally. In a special sense, too, as William Archer, Thomas P. Bailey, and Sir Harry Johnston early pointed out, lynching is a way of punishing Negroes for the white Southerners' own guilt feelings in violating Negro women or for presumed Negro sexual superiority. The dullness and insecurity of rural Southern life, as well as the eminence of emotional puritanical religion, also create an emphasis upon sex in the South which especially affects adolescent, unmarried, and climacteric women, who are inclined to give significance to innocent incidents. The atmosphere around lynching is astonishingly like that of the

tragic phenomenon of "witch hunting" which disgraced early Protestantism in so many countries. The sadistic elements in most lynchings also point to a close relation between lynching and thwarted sexual urges.

Although the persons lynched are usually accused of some offense, lynching is not so much an instrument for punishment of crime as a means of evoking terror designed to "keep the Negro in his place." The Southerner, Clarence Cason (p. 111), once remarked that the

. . . conviction that the black man must now and then be intimidated, in order to keep him from forgetting the bounds which Southern traditions have set for him, is firmly rooted in the consciousness of many Southern people. So unquestioned is this philosophy that at times lynchings are planned and carried through—not under the fierce compulsion of mob hysteria—by men who have calmly resigned themselves to the performance of a painful duty, which, according to their lights, is necessary for the good of society.

If lynching were merely for the purpose of punishing crime, it would be entirely unnecessary, for there are adequate tribunals and legal machinery for dealing with offenders. Furthermore, there is no problem of excessive leniency of the courts, of lack of certainty of punishment, or of the law's delay, especially so far as Negroes are concerned. Lynchers do not want the legal administration of justice to operate at all. It is significant that nearly half of the Negroes lynched in recent years have been taken directly from the hands of officers of the law and nearly a quarter of them from the jails themselves. Cases have occurred in which Negro defendants have been killed in the courtroom, in which attempts have been made to seize and lynch them during trial, and in which troops have had to be called out to permit a trial to proceed. There have also been cases of what may be termed "legal lynching"—of hasty trials and foredoomed convictions under mob pressure and even instances where officials have actually bargained with mobs and "bought off" the leaders with promises of speedy conviction and execution.

In reality, as Raper and Reid (p. 130) have remarked, lynching comes from the state of mind of white people much more than from the crimes committed by Negroes. The distinguished South-

ern journalist, Henry Watterson, once said (as quoted by Storey, p. 14):

Lynching should not be misconstrued. It is not an effort to punish crime. It is a sport which has as its excuse the fact that a crime, of greater or less gravity, has been committed or is alleged. A lynching party rarely is made up of citizens indignant at the law's delays or failures. It often is made up of a mob bent upon diversion and proceeding in a mood of rather frolicsome ferocity to have a thoroughly good time. Lynchers are not persons who strive from day to day toward social betterment. Neither are they always drunken ruffians. Oftentimes they are ruffians wholly sober in so far as alcoholic indulgence is concerned but highly stimulated by an opportunity to indulge in spectacular murder when there is no fear that the next grand jury will return murder indictments against them.

The last sentence should be underscored for future reference. First, it may be noted that there is a strong element of diversion in many lynchings, especially where there is a large gathering and much popular excitement. For example, reporters stated that the throng of several thousand persons who witnessed the lynching of two white kidnaper-slayers in San Jose in 1933 were imbued by a carnival spirit, and similar characterizations have been made of Southern Negro-lynching "parties." There was some truth in Mencken's "clinical note" to the effect that lynching would be reduced by providing the Southern whites with other forms of amusement.

Another factor in the lynching complex is the pattern of violence, coupled with the desire to look after matters personally rather than take them to court, that is especially characteristic of the South. The South has been cynically and not inaccurately described as "that part of the United States lying below the Smith and Wesson line," a reference to the prevailing custom of carrying and using revolvers. The South stands first in the number of persons transporting concealed weapons, in the number of lynchings, and in other forms of homicide. Many of the homicidal deaths in the South are cases of Negroes, either slain by other Negroes or by whites. But even if all colored cases are excluded from the records, the South still remains the region where murder and manslaughter are most prevalent. Brearley (pp. 684-685), who has reported on this situation, states that the distinctive quality of the South's homicide record appears when

slayings are considered by three major categories. The first class consists of those homicides committed by abnormal persons, especially perverts or the insane or near insane. In slayings of this type the record of the South is good. The second type of homicide is that committed in connection with some other anti-social act as when a burglar slays or is slain by a householder. In this class of homicide the South is no worse than other parts of the nation.

In the third class, however, the Southerner has amply earned his reputation for bloodshed. This is the type of slaying committed to preserve the status of the slayer, to maintain his self-respect and prestige or those of his group. Here are included lynchings, honor slayings, "family affairs," and most of the manslaughters arising from altercations. If it were not for killings of this type, the South would be a land of peace and personal security.

Finally, a striking characteristic of lynchings is that they have in some degree the public opinion of the community behind them and, as a consequence, go unpunished. Were it not for this more or less public approval and accompanying immunity of the actual participants, lynchings would not occur, or at least would not persist. Wilbur J. Cash states in *The Mind of the South* (p. 303) that while the common whites have usually (though not invariably) done the actual execution, "they have kept on doing it, in the last analysis, only because their betters either consented quietly or, more often, definitely approved." At bottom, the community generally condones the crime. The sentiment frequently expressed in a community where a lynching has occurred is to the effect that the victim got no more than was deserved. Sometimes this view is openly stated by prominent persons, as when Governor James Rolph, Jr., of California, condoned the San Jose dual lynching in 1933 in a public statement (Associated Press, Nov. 27, 1933): "It is the best lesson California has ever given the country. . . . They'll learn they can't kidnap in this state. . . . If any one is arrested for the good job, I'll pardon them all." Arthur Raper (*The Tragedy of Lynching*, pp. 19-24) found that in every community where lynchings occurred in 1930 there were some people who openly justified what had been done. "All walks of life were represented among the apologists—judges, prosecuting attorneys, lawyers, businessmen, doctors,

preachers, teachers, mechanics, day laborers, and women of many types." In practically every community with a lynching in 1930 there were also some people who were heartily opposed to what took place. After a time, however, even the "best citizens" usually came to feel that "it is all over now, and the sooner it is forgotten, the better for the community." The most common view expressed by ministers was that the lynching, though unfortunate, was inevitable. The newspapers of the large Southern cities almost always denounced a lynching whether near at hand or far away—in a few cases, however, the nearer at hand, the less vigorous the denunciation. The small-town papers were inclined to condemn lynching in general but often justified it in particular instances. The general public either justified or condoned the lynching and exerted pressure on all to conform. No determined community-wide effort for the conviction of the lynchers was made in any of the communities where a lynching had occurred.

Public approval is also evidenced in the publicity that has attended many lynchings. Some Southern newspapers have advertised lynchings in advance, carrying announcements of the plans, and naming time and place where the lynching is to occur. Hundreds, even thousands, of people, thus advised, pour in from far and near. In the early days of the century special trains were sometimes run for the occasion; now the onlookers come mainly by automobile. Women and children regularly are included in such public mobs. The lynching in Florida in 1934 of Claude Neal was given the widest publicity in advance. Following were some of the headlines:

MOB HOLDS NEGRO; INVITATIONS ISSUED FOR LYNCH PARTY

MOB INVITES "WHITE FOLKS" TO LYNCHING

JACKSON COUNTY OFFICERS "KNOW OF NO WAY" TO PREVENT IT

MOB NOT TO BE BOTHERED OPINES S. PAUL GREENE [DEPUTY SHERIFF]

CROWD AWAITS LYNCHING; THOUSANDS IN THROG TO SEE FLORIDA MOB
MURDER NEGRO

Numerous also have been the cases in which police officers have participated in lynchings. To cite a few random examples: police officers directed traffic at the scene of a lynching in Tulsa, Oklahoma, in 1920, trying to afford those who came an equal

chance to view the event; at the White Bluff, Tennessee, lynching in 1935 the lynchers borrowed the sheriff's pistol for the purpose; the sheriff in Union County, South Carolina, in 1931 was present at a lynching in broad daylight with the lynchers undisguised, yet later testified that he did not recognize any of them; in 1938 the sheriff in Ruston, Louisiana, after conferring with the leaders of the mob agreed to turn his back, go around to a side road, and there await the prisoner which the mob was supposed to deliver to him, although everyone knew it had no such intention; in Luverne, Alabama, a Negro was lynched in 1940 by a police-led mob because he neglected to refer to a white police officer as "Mr."; in the lynching of a Negro war veteran in Minden, Louisiana, in 1946 the sheriff helped the mob force the victim into one of the cars to be driven off and tortured and beaten to death. From his study of 100 lynchings since 1929, Raper (quoted in Myrdal, p. 562) estimates that "at least one-half of the lynchings are carried out with police officers participating and that in nine-tenths of the others the officers either condone or wink at the mob action."

The members of lynching mobs are not only frequently known but can readily be identified from pictures of lynchings. Some have even publicly proclaimed their guilt. Yet it has been the rule for grand juries to decline to indict and for coroner's juries to report that "the deceased met his death at the hands of parties unknown." Sometimes the coroner's juries become facetious and report that "The deceased came to his death by taking too great a bit of hemp rope," or "The deceased came to his death by swinging in the air," or "We do not know who killed the deceased, but we congratulate the parties on their work."

DECLINE OF LYNCHING

Although lynching is still a serious problem, there has been a significant decline in the number of lynchings, especially since 1930. Much of this decline can be credited to the prevention of lynching. For example, in the period 1914 to 1932 there were 715 persons lynched and 704 persons prevented from being lynched. Such preventions have been proportionally increasing. In the period 1937 to 1947, for example, there were only 44 persons lynched while 304 lynchings were prevented. The prevention of lynching has been accomplished by various means includ-

ing the removal of accused persons to distant strong prisons; promising the mob that the accused will be speedily tried and convicted ("legal lynching"); calling out the National Guard to protect the prisoner; the courageous action of peace officers in defying mobs and refusing to surrender their prisoner to them; the effective policing by state patrols and state constabularies; and appeals by civic leaders. Most threatened lynchings have been prevented in states where most lynchings have occurred.

A beginning is also being made in the matter of the punishment of lynchers. There have been indictments of persons participating in lynchings and some convictions, but it is not usual for lynchers to receive punishment even when brought to trial. In such cases, it is almost impossible to secure witnesses who are willing to give adverse testimony. Federal courts have been more active in recent years, but they are handicapped in bringing lynchers to justice since their jurisdiction is limited to cases in which it can be shown that a law officer has been responsible for the infringement of an individual's constitutional rights. Up to 1947 there have been six Federal indictments against lynchers, two of which resulted in convictions. These occurred in Georgia in 1943, when three law officers were fined \$1,000 each and sentenced to three years in the Federal prison for abducting and lynching a Negro and in Illinois in 1946 when nine white farmers were fined \$200 each for conspiracy to violate the Federal Civil Rights Acts by lynching a Negro four years earlier. In his *Lynching and the Law* Chadbourn lists only eight cases of convictions of Southern lynchers for the whole period from 1900 until the end of 1929. Since 1929 there have been a few cases where lynchers have been convicted in state and local courts, especially in Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, and Texas, and fined or given a prison sentence. The biggest lynching trial in the history of the South took place in Greenville, South Carolina, in 1947 when 31 white men were charged with the lynching of a Negro, Willie Earle, suspected of stabbing and robbing a white taxicab driver. Although the jury acquitted the defendants, the trial was significant in that the governor, the prosecutor, the sheriff, and the judge did their utmost to bring the slayers to justice and they had the support of the local press and a strong body of opinion throughout the state. A precedent has been set,

and members of lynching mobs may know that they can no longer bask in universal approval.

✓ The decline of lynching is probably the result basically of the rising standard of living, improved education, the lessening of cultural isolation through the radio and cheap automobile, the increase of diversion, the migration of Negroes, and the growth of cities and of industry and commerce. No little credit should also be given to the press, the educational program against lynching, and the threat of Federal anti-lynching legislation. All these factors reflect a growing public opinion against mob murder.

The first systematic and intensive fight against lynching was begun by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which was founded in 1909 with the eradication of lynching as one of its objectives. It has investigated lynchings and published the facts to the nation; educated public opinion through meetings, news releases, and other pieces of literature; protested to governors and other officials; urged legal action against lynchers; and worked for a Federal anti-lynching law.

✓ In the South numerous organizations of whites have campaigned against lynching. Most active has been the Commission on Interracial Cooperation (organized in 1919, succeeded in 1944 by the Southern Regional Council) and its various state committees, which have condemned lynching, collected evidence, and inaugurated preventive programs. Under its auspices the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching was organized in 1930. Under the leadership of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of Atlanta it has become one of the most vital and constructive movements in the South, with organizations in 13 states and with the backing of numerous women's groups—social, civic, and religious. The association's declaration and pledge is a noteworthy document. It reads:

We declare lynching is an indefensible crime destructive of all principles of government, hateful and hostile to every ideal of religion and humanity, debasing and degrading to every person involved. Though lynchings are not confined to any one section of the United States, we are aroused by the record which discloses our heavy responsibility for the presence of this crime in our country. We believe that this record has been achieved because public opinion has accepted too easily the claims of lynchers and mobsters that they were acting solely in the defense of womanhood. In the light of facts, women dare

not longer permit the claim to pass unchallenged nor allow themselves to be the cloak behind which those bent upon personal revenge and savagery commit acts of violence and lawlessness in the name of women. We repudiate this disgraceful claim for all time. In evidence of our purpose we solemnly pledge ourselves to create a new public opinion in the South which will not condone for any reason whatever acts of mobs or lynchers. We shall teach our children at home, at school, and at church a new interpretation of law and religion; we will assist all officials to uphold their oath of office; and finally we will join with every minister, editor, schoolteacher, peace officer, and patriotic citizen in a program of education to eradicate lynching and mobs forever from our land.

That the pledge is not an idle one is indicated by the fact that nearly 50,000 white women of the South have signed it and have secured the cooperation of over 1,350 peace officers. The association has gathered and publicized the facts about lynchings, such as the innocence of many mob victims of any crime, the minor offenses of which many others are accused, and the sordid motivations of many instigators of lynchings. Revelation of such facts has aided in discrediting the claim of lynchers that they were acting solely in the defense of womanhood, and it has helped to create a decided change in public opinion. This change is also marked in the attitude of the press. Today the majority of Southern newspapers come out openly against lynching. Southern states now take pride when the annual record shows that they have had few or no lynchings. Behind this movement is the growing strength of Southern liberalism. The change in public sentiment is most significant, for lynching cannot live where the community does not countenance it.

Such public opinion in opposition to lynching is a far greater deterrent than legislation. Indeed, anti-lynching laws cannot be enforced without such public support. According to Mangum (pp. 290-300), 20 states have statutes which can rightly be termed anti-lynching laws. Eight of these states are Southern: Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia. This enumeration does not include statutes which punish the participation in mobs and riots generally, nor does it include those acts (found in 31 states) authorizing the removal of prisoners from jails in which they are threatened with mob violence to jails or prisons in other counties. Seven of

the twenty states (Alabama, Georgia, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, North Carolina, and Virginia) make lynching a crime in and of itself. The Kentucky statute includes attempted lynching as well, and the North Carolina statute also makes a conspiracy to lynch punishable. Four other states (Illinois, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia) punish lynching under the head of mob violence. New Mexico and Ohio inflict punishment upon those who assault a jail with the intent to lynch any prisoner incarcerated therein. The anti-lynching statutes of eight states make provision for either the criminal or civil liability of sheriffs or other peace officers who are at fault in the performance of their duties with respect to a prisoner in their custody. Nine states, including four from the last-mentioned category, provide for the removal of sheriffs or like officials when it can be shown that they did not adequately protect a prisoner in their charge. In 12 of the states with anti-lynching statutes, counties and cities are held liable by fine for lynching or mob death or injury. "However," states Mangum, "their statutes have never been well enforced, chiefly because of the difficulty of obtaining evidence. In such cases most people, even the best citizens, are disinclined to testify against their neighbors." The decline in lynching has been due not to the punishment of lynchers but to the prevention of lynching in the first place.

Since the entire problem is bound up with local psychology and politics in such a way that action against lynchers is seldom taken, a feeling has been growing for years that only Federal authority can meet the situation. Moreover, the Federal government is directly concerned in international complications arising out of the lynchings of nationals of other countries. For example, a mob broke into the jail in New Orleans in 1891 and lynched 11 Italians. The Italian government demanded that the lynchers be punished and that indemnity be paid; the Italian minister was withdrawn. Since there was no Federal law on lynching, the United States government could not act. Congress, however, voted \$25,000 for the families of the victims, apologies were made to Italy, and cordial relations were resumed. In 1922 the Mexican government protested against the lynching of Mexican citizens in the United States, especially in Texas. When Robert Praeger was lynched in 1918 for being a German sympathizer, fear was felt that Germany might retaliate on American citizens marooned

in Germany and American prisoners of war. When Congress passed a resolution deploring the "British atrocities in Ireland," the Canadian parliament retaliated with a resolution condemning mob violence in the United States. Canada has on occasions refused to extradite Negroes wanted for crime in Southern states for the reason that they might be lynched without trial. Lynchings and other instances of mob violence in America are given wide publicity in the newspapers of other countries. Lynching is without question our best advertised disgrace. It injures our national prestige and embarrasses the government in international relations, yet the evil is beyond Federal jurisdiction. ✓

Numerous anti-lynching bills have been introduced in Congress. Twice, in 1922 and 1937, they have passed the House but been killed in the Senate by a filibuster by the Southern bloc. These bills have generally provided that any state or local officer failing to make reasonable effort to prevent lynching or conspiring with the mob to turn over the victim for lynching shall be criminally liable; that participants in mobs shall be subject to fine and imprisonment; that counties in which lynchings occur shall be subject to fine if it is established that full protection was not afforded; and that the aggrieved parties may sue for damages in Federal courts. The main arguments advanced against the various bills are that they would interfere with states' rights and that local governmental agencies can best cope with the situation. So far as any legislation against lynching is effective, Federal officers and agencies would be free from local pressure. On the other hand, if there is strong local sentiment against Federal action as an "outside" agency, it may be impossible to secure evidence. It appears that the agitation around the Federal bills and the threat of their passage have been effective in stimulating the South to take measures itself to curb the evil. There is no doubt that public opinion against lynching is increasing in the South and that it has already been effective in reducing the number of lynchings. It may reach the point where it will support Federal as well as state anti-lynching measures. Already not a few Southerners, including some influential editors, have stated that they favor the enactment of a Federal anti-lynching law; and the "principle of Federal anti-lynching legislation" was approved by a conference of liberal groups in February, 1948, held under the sponsorship of the

Southern Regional Council and attended by 300 delegates from 11 Southern states. In any event, it is incumbent on local governmental agencies to demonstrate that they actually can cope with the problem.

RACE RIOTS

Although lynchings and race riots are both manifestations of mob violence, they differ in a number of respects. A race riot is a form of group conflict in which members of race-conscious groups commit acts of violence indiscriminately against each other. Unlike a lynching, which is usually executed by whites upon unresisting Negroes, a riot is a two-way battle, a mass violence in which Negroes fight as unreservedly as whites. It is resistance on the part of the Negroes that is a necessary characteristic of a race riot. A lynching may turn into a race riot if the Negroes show any signs of concerted resistance; otherwise, it remains a one-way terrorization of Negroes by whites. Moreover, the riot is primarily an urban phenomenon, while lynching is primarily a rural phenomenon. There must be a large and compact group of Negroes if they are to fight back. This partly explains the fact that race riots are as characteristic of the North as of the South, for the Northern Negroes are practically all urban. A further difference, as Guy B. Johnson (p. 147) points out, is that in a lynching the mob's wrath is usually quick to rise and quick to ebb after it has found its victim, whereas the riot usually has a history of accumulating tension which, when it finally breaks, is diffused and prolonged in its effects. *Any* Negro, then, stands in danger of his life. Myrdal (p. 569) states:

The effects of riots may be even more harmful to amicable race relations than are those of lynching. Whites do not feel the twinge of bad conscience which they have when they have lynched helpless and unresisting Negroes. The feelings of fear and insecurity on the part of the whites are only increased when some of their own number have been killed or injured. The memory of a riot is much longer than that of a lynching, for both whites and Negroes. Their devastation and relative fewness make them landmarks in history.

The ancestor of the race riot in the South is the slave insurrection and its suppression. After emancipation the pattern of concerted action by Negroes took on new forms. According to Guy B. Johnson (pp. 146-147),

Any organized effort of Negroes to improve their status, any disregard of the caste patterns by a group of Negroes, has been interpreted as concerted aggression. During Reconstruction, race riots centered around the political meetings of Negroes, the ballot box, and the presence of Negro militia. The Atlanta riot of 1906 grew out of a "crime wave" of rape and murder of whites by Negroes which was played up in the newspapers until it appeared to be almost a concerted or planned aggression. The Houston riot of 1917 grew out of the presence of Negro soldiers who did not observe the rules of caste. In other words, they were "insolent" *en masse*. The Tulsa riot in 1921 occurred after a band of Negroes had gone to the county jail with the idea of preventing the lynching of a Negro prisoner. The "crime" of the Elaine, Arkansas, Negro sharecroppers [in 1919] was that they organized and made certain demands of the white landlords, and the same was true of the Tallapoosa County, Alabama, Negro farmers who were involved in small riots in 1931 and 1932. In every riot which has occurred in the South, organized or concerted violation of caste principles has played the leading role.

Many of so-called race riots in the South have been terrorization and lawlessness on a large scale, with indiscriminate attack on Negroes and destruction of their homes and business places, rather than riots as defined above, with organized aggression or resistance on the part of Negroes. This appears to have been the case in the numerous mob outbreaks against Negroes in the aftermath of the First World War—in Harriston, Mississippi, in 1918; in Knoxville, Tennessee; Longview, Texas; Norfolk, Virginia; Washington, D.C., and Charleston, South Carolina, in 1919; in Lexington, Kentucky; and Ocoee, Florida, in 1920. With the possible exception of the last-mentioned incident—an outgrowth of an election-day disturbance in which 2 whites and 33 Negroes were killed—the victims of these mob actions were all Negroes. A new element, however, was observable in some of these clashes (notably the one in Washington)—a determination on the part of the Negroes to defend themselves. The incidents of mass lawlessness in the South during and after the Second World War were likewise not true race riots but indiscriminate assaults on Negroes. There was no organized resistance on the part of Negroes in the disturbances at Mobile, Alabama, and Beaumont, Texas, in 1943 and at Athens, Alabama, in 1946. In the Columbia, Tennessee, "riot" in 1946 the Negroes made some attempt to defend them-

selves, but the outbreak was essentially an example of mass terrorism and vandalism by whites.

In the North the incidents of racial violence have been much more clear-cut cases of race riots, with deaths and injuries on both sides. There has been determination on the part of Northern Negroes to insist on their rights and to fight back. Moreover, they know that some portion of the white population is on their side and that the police will ultimately restore order. Major race riots in the North have occurred in Springfield, Illinois, in 1908; in East St. Louis, Illinois, in 1917; in Chicago, Illinois; Omaha, Nebraska; and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1919; in Carteret, New Jersey, in 1926; in Detroit, Michigan, in 1942; and in Los Angeles, California; Detroit, Michigan; and New York in 1943. In contrast to the race riots in the South, where violation of caste principles has been the chief factor, the underlying causes of race riots in the North have been the in-migration of Negroes and their displacement of some whites in jobs and residences, economic competition, conflict over the use of common public recreational and other facilities, segregation and discrimination imposed by whites and resisted by Negroes, the irresponsible actions of agitators and organized hoodlums, and the incompetence and prejudice of the police.

Since riots do not happen suddenly but have a history of accumulating tension, it is possible to forecast them and in large measure to prevent them. Preventive community action would call for the organization of an official biracial commission and a similar civic committee, representing all the important interests and with power to act. It would also involve constant fact finding, checking rumors and opinions, investigating incidents of friction and factors in living and working conditions leading to tensions. More fundamentally, it would entail the improvement of housing, recreational and other facilities, the elimination of discrimination and the removal of economic insecurity as far as is possible, and the promotion of better understanding and cooperation among racial groups. It is significant that in the Detroit outbreak there was no rioting in mixed residential neighborhoods between whites and blacks who knew each other and that not one factory's routine was upset by the rioting—Negro and white fellow workers maintained their schedules and when work shifts came, they helped one another home. Finally, other measures to prevent a race

riot would include an adequate force of white and Negro police officers, well trained and skilled in the handling of racial problems, and an organization of community agencies to come into action when a riot threatens. If, despite all efforts, a mob starts to form, the surest way of dispersing it and preventing a riot is by an immediate and overwhelming display of force.

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CHAPTER 17

THE DOCTRINE OF RACIAL INFERIORITY

One of the heaviest loads which the Negro carries is the stigma of inferiority. The assumption on the part of whites that he is racially inferior presses upon him heavily in the form of restrictions on his personal freedom and on his participation in the economic, political, and social life of the nation; in the deference demanded of him; and in the dominant attitude toward him. The doctrine of inferiority is basic to discrimination in all fields and is the great stumbling block to his progress. The belief in the Negro's biological inferiority leads, in its extreme form, to the notion that he is not merely a member of an out-group but belongs to a different species and is a different kind of human being who should receive different treatment from the white man. More generally it implies that, even if the Negro should be given equality of opportunity, he would not be the equal of the white man, that he belongs in a lower social status, and that he should be kept separate as a race. Whatever the degree of inferiority ascribed to Negroes, the belief that they are mentally and morally inferior by nature controls in one form or another most of the thinking about them on the part of whites. It is a cardinal element in race prejudice. Thus it has been said with much truth that the principal problem is the problem of the white mind.

The belief in the inferiority of the Negro is an article of faith, independent of rational proofs or disproofs, in the mind of the typical Southern white. It heads the list in the Southern credo, as reported by such students as Bailey (pp. 92-93), Powdermaker (pp. 23-24), and Odum (pp. 19-20). It may be expressed as follows:

The Negro is inferior and will remain so. He can never be expected to measure up to the white man's standards of character and achievement. He should be kept in his place as an inferior. This is a white

man's country, and the white race must dominate. Moreover, Negroes are by nature lazy and shiftless, dependent and carefree, incapable of self-discipline and forethought, inclined to criminal behavior and sexually immoral. As an individual he may be capable, likable, trustworthy, and honest, but this is the exception. Finally, this whole matter is not a debatable issue.

Two things should be noted about such beliefs. First, they hold that the alleged traits of the Negro are not due to environment or experience but are inborn, that is, biological or racial. This was clearly expressed by Thomas Nelson Page (p. 565) when he said: "There are some things so well understood by those who know the Negroes, as to appear to them almost truisms, for example, that the white race is superior to the Negro race, not accidentally and because of superior training, but inherently and fundamentally." Secondly, to such biological inheritance is ascribed not only inferior intelligence or mental capacity but personality traits and behavior patterns as well. Thus the white man, especially the white Southerner, remains largely convinced that when the Negro is illiterate, unskilled, diseased, and lawless, it is because he is a Negro and not because of the handicaps that come from being a Negro. The notion that inferior status means general biological inferiority becomes a justification for denying equality of opportunity. Prejudice and discrimination hold the Negro back, and his backwardness is used to justify the prejudice and discrimination. Thus the claim of racial inferiority is reinforced, and the behavior toward the Negro is rationalized.

The beliefs about Negroes not only serve to justify the caste order as a whole, but specific beliefs, according to Myrdal (pp. 106-107), seem to have specific rationalization purposes. Thus, the belief that the Negro's mind cannot be improved above a given level has been an argument for discrimination in education and for directing Negro education toward developing his hands and not his brains; the belief that he is childlike, servile, and lacking in initiative is used to justify the denial to him of full civic rights and suffrage; the belief that he lacks mechanical aptitude affords an excuse for keeping him out of skilled industrial jobs; the belief in his peculiar odor serves to justify the denial of social intercourse and the use of public conveniences which imply close contact, such as restaurants, theaters, and streetcars. "It is remarkable," Myrdal comments, "that it does not hinder the utilization of

Negroes in even the most intimate household work and personal services." There are also popular beliefs friendly to the Negro, for example, that he is gifted in music, clever in handling animals, loyal as a servant, happy, and religious in his nature. "All such favorable beliefs seem to have this in common, that they do not raise any question concerning the advisability or righteousness of keeping the Negro in his place in the caste order. They do not react against the major need for justification. They rather make it natural that he shall remain subordinate."

The effect of such beliefs regarding the racial traits of Negroes is to form in the mind of the white man a fixed image or stereotype of the Negro race, as such, which determines his attitude and behavior toward the individual members of that race. The white man sees a member of the Negro race not as an individual personality like himself but as a representative of an alien group whose characteristics are the opposite of all those qualities which form the image he has in mind when he thinks of his own group. The stereotype of the Negro has been reinforced and perpetuated by writers for the various media of communication: stage, motion picture, radio, comic cartoon, press, advertisement, novel, and short story. Because of their habitual employment of "stock characters," writers have unconsciously fostered group prejudice and wrought immeasurable harm to the Negro. The popular stereotype thus resulting is satirized by a Negro journalist, George S. Schuyler (p. 385), as follows:

We Ethiops, one gathers from this mass of evidence, are a childish, shiftless, immoral, primitive, incurably religious, genially incompetent, incredibly odoriferous, inherently musical, chronically excitable, mentally inferior people with pronounced homicidal tendencies. We are incapable of self-government or self-restraint and irresponsible except when led by white folks. We possess a penchant for assaulting white females and an inordinate appetite for chicken, gin, and watermelon. While it is finally and reluctantly admitted that we belong to the human race, we are accorded only the lowest position in the species, a notch or two above the great apes. We make good domestics but hopeless executives. Even at this late date, all coons look alike to the great majority of Nordic Americans, and even the highest type of Negro is under no consideration to be accorded a higher position than the lowest type of white. In short, from examining the bulk of the evidence, the impartial investigator must conclude that

the Negro has almost a monopoly of all the more discreditable characteristics of mankind. But at the same time one is effusively informed that he is deeply loved and thoroughly understood, especially by his pork-skinned friends of Southern derivation.

The doctrine of the Negro's inherent inferiority is of long standing, with a history about as long as that of the Negro in America. The ground, however, has shifted. The battle between the races in the South was first waged over the right of the Negro to be classed as a human being with a soul; later, as to whether he had sufficient intelligence to master even the rudiments of learning; then, as to whether he was capable of higher education; and today, as to whether he has those high qualities of imagination, intellect, initiative, and aggressiveness that are characteristic of the Anglo-Saxons.

The holding of slaves by a Christian nation demanded some kind of justification or conscience balm. If it were ethically wrong for one human being to enslave another, conscience could be eased by proving that the slaves were less than human or that they were predestined to slavery. Accordingly, as mentioned in an earlier chapter, Biblical arguments founded on Noah and his three sons, one of whom was cursed to be "a servant of servants unto his brethren," conveniently supplied the desired support; the blacks were the descendants of Ham. In many cases, during colonial days, the Negro was not regarded as a member of the human species at all, but as a domestic animal. This belief was in evidence up to the end of the seventeenth century and survived into later times. It has been expressed in at least three books published since 1890. The first is *The Missing Link* (1898) by Rev. G. C. H. Hasskarl, which is largely concerned with the question as to whether the Negro has a soul. His own reply is indicated by the following statements: "The negro is a separate and distinct species of the *genus homo* from Adam and Eve" (p. 29); "The negro is not a human being" (p. 28); "He is inevitably a beast and as a beast entered the ark" (p. 29); "The difference [is] between the white man immortal and the negro soulless" (p. 33). In 1900 a Bible House in St. Louis published a book entitled *The Negro a Beast* written by Charles Carroll, which had a wide circulation among poor whites in the South. The author's thesis is that man was made in the image of God; God is not a Negro; therefore, the Negro

is not a man. Finally, in 1925 Frank P. Ball published his booklet called *Divine Creation versus the Theory of Evolution*, in which he stated (p. 34):

Many theories are advanced regarding the origin of the races. . . . But if the reader understands that the negro is a beast and he was in the Ark with Noah and his family makes the presence of the negro after the deluge very easy to understand. . . . The theory of evolution holds to the claim that the many kinds of men are the results of evolutionary laws, whereas I claim that all men, except the pure white who was made in the image of God and the pure-blooded negro who is a beast, are the results of mixture of the two.

Incidentally, there is a Negro version of the origin of races that is more favorable to them. Puckett (pp. 4-5) cites a Christianized African story to the effect that all men were at first black, but when Cain killed Abel, he turned white from fear. Evans (pp. 60-61) states that he frequently heard discussions among the unsophisticated whites in the rural South concerning the question as to whether or not the Negro has a soul. Some of the people had the idea that the Southern Negro is not a real Negro and that the genuine African Negro has a small tail about four inches long and does not possess a soul.

Except for such survivals, theological arguments concerning the humanity of the Negro gave way to assertions about his intellectual inferiority. Thomas Jefferson (p. 382), for example, the leading exponent of early American liberalism, was satisfied that a Negro could scarcely be found who was "capable of tracing and comprehending the investigations of Euclid." The notion that Negroes lacked reasoning power and were not educable seemed warranted by the facts of their actual condition. When they emerged from slavery they were ignorant, illiterate, and lacking in foresight and responsibility. As their illiteracy declined with their increasing opportunity for elementary education, the belief in the Negro's mental incapacity shifted ground; it was held that the Negro was capable of acquiring the rudiments of learning but that his mental development came to a standstill at puberty. As more and more Negroes went on to high school, the notion again shifted to the stand that the higher education of Negroes was impossible and certainly inadvisable. Many proponents of the doctrine still hold to this view despite the expanding record of Negro

accomplishment in fields of higher learning. Others maintain that Negroes are lacking in the higher attributes of intelligence or that fundamental differences in mentality and psychic traits exist between the races. Evidence is drawn from biology, psychology, and history in support of this claim. Though the doctrine has thus been brought to the level of scientific discussion, it still belongs in the category of attempted justification of the inferior status assigned to the Negro in American society.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS

The doctrine of Negro inferiority implies a belief in a hierarchy of races, with the Negroes lower than the whites in the biological order. They are said to be nearer to the anthropoid apes in physical characteristics and also to have less mental capacity than the whites because of their smaller cranial capacity, lower brain weight, and less complicated brain structure. What are the facts regarding race differences, and what do they mean?

Race is a biological concept; a race may be defined as a large group of men possessing in common certain physical characteristics which are determined by heredity. The criteria of race distinction are height, shape of head, facial angle, color of skin, hair, and eyes, and other physical traits. On the basis of such traits all mankind, who constitute a single species, may be classified into various types or varieties, that is, races. There may be as many classifications or "races" as one chooses to make. As Brewton Berry (p. 90) states: "How many races are there? As well ask, how many slices are there in a pie? It all depends." Different anthropologists have given different answers, ranging from 2 to 29 races. The tendency is toward the smaller number. A commonly accepted classification of races is threefold: Negroid, Mongoloid, and Caucasoid, though this leaves an unclassified group of Others or Miscellaneous. The three main groups are sometimes called the primary races. A basic criterion in all classifications, as seen in the terminology employed, is color. Skin color is determined by two chemicals: carotene, which gives a yellow tinge, and melanin, which contributes the brown. Every person, save the albino, has some of each of these materials in his skin. It is not an all-or-nothing difference but a difference in proportion. The origin of races is lost in antiquity. It is the assumption that in very early times groups of human beings came to be isolated

long enough to develop certain types through inbreeding, selection, and the influence of the environment in which they lived.

The belief is held that the physical traits of the Negro are more primitive than the white man's. His heavy protruding jaw, his broad nose, long arms, and long head are said to be apelike. On that basis, the white man is more simian with his thin lips, straight hair, large bony ridge above the eyes, and in size and shape of external ear. Such discussion merely introduces the emotional factor which takes it for granted that certain virtues inhere in physical traits, that some are high and others low. There are scores of physical types. Some have marked features in one direction, some in another. As Dorsey (pp. 42-43) remarks:

To have diverged from the parent type means—simply divergence. We read significance into color of skin and other physical traits without knowing the facts behind these traits or the causes of change. There is no known fact of human anatomy or physiology which implies that capacity for culture or civilization or intelligence inheres in this race or that type.

This statement also applies to the matter of brain weight and structure. In brain weight the average of whites would slightly exceed the average of Negroes, but among the Negroes many will be found exceeding the white average. The two groups overlap; no sharp line can be drawn. Brain weights vary enormously. Usually, large individuals have large brains. Men are larger than women and have larger brains. Large brains have no more units than small brains; the units are simply larger. There is no evidence that the size of brain is necessarily connected with actual or potential intelligence, either in the individual or the race. Nor has any difference been found in brain structure or in convolutions that can be interpreted in psychological terms. Moreover, contrary to racist doctrine, the cranial sutures do not close earlier in the Negro than in the white.

MENTAL CHARACTERISTICS

It is also contended by those who believe in the innate inferiority of the Negro that there are fundamental differences in mentality between the races, that intelligence tests prove the Negroes to be inferior, and that mulattoes are superior to full blacks because of the white admixture. It is true that in most intelligence

test studies, including the extensive Army intelligence ratings, Negroes rank on the average below whites although there is a large overlapping between the test scores of members of the two races. What do the tests mean?

Intelligence is not an entity which exists separately within the organism nor is it a unit character inheritable according to genetic laws. Its true nature remains as yet undefined, but it may be described, according to Lessa (pp. 46-48), as an adaptive agency or as the ability to adjust to environment. "Intelligence depends upon heredity for its potentialities and limits and upon environment for its specific functioning and degree of exploitation." Both are operative, and modern psychologists are agreed that intelligence tests do not measure native intelligence free of environmental factors. So complex and subtle are the interconnections between social experience and mentality that it appears almost hopeless to attempt to measure such a thing as innate intelligence that is independent of experience. What intelligence tests measure is the proficiency which an individual has developed in regard to the particular item on which he is examined. Dent (p. 56) has said: "Intelligence tests can never be a test of anything but the ability to answer intelligence tests." They appear at best to measure capacity to learn school subjects. They are strongest when they deal with individuals as they provide an objective and quantitative way of expressing the relative efficiency of behavior with reference to the specific items tested. They are weakest when they attempt to measure group or race differences, for the tests are of necessity cultural in nature; and cultural conditions, including experience and opportunity, vary widely.

While the results of intelligence testing are negative as far as innate or hereditary differences are concerned—neither proving nor disproving that fundamental differences exist between the races—they are positive in regard to environmental factors. It has been proved that environmental differences account in large measure for the differences in the test performances. Within a given race it has been demonstrated that the intelligence quotient of children is affected by differences of, or changes in, environment and that psychic traits, especially personality characteristics, develop through experience. As between races, the environmental factor appears even more potent in accounting for differences.

During the First World War the Army testers found that Negro recruits from the North were superior to Negroes from the South and that Negroes from certain Northern states were superior to whites from certain Southern states. When the House Military Committee in 1944 found that these facts were included in a pamphlet *The Races of Mankind* by anthropologists Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish, it blocked the use of the pamphlet by the Army, which had ordered 55,000 copies for its orientation courses, despite the fact that the pamphlet stated emphatically: "The differences did not arise because people were from the North or the South or because they were white or black but because of differences in income, education, cultural advantages, and other opportunities." The superiority of Northern over Southern Negroes, as revealed by various intelligence tests, has been ascribed by some people to the migration of the more intelligent Negroes from South to North, but the results of Klineberg's study *Negro Intelligence and Selective Migration* showed quite definitely that the superiority of the Northern Negroes and their tendency to approximate the scores of the whites were due not to selective migration but to factors in the environment.

It is also the factor of more favorable environment that explains the generally higher ratings of mulattoes over full blacks. The mulattoes have long been primarily an urban group and have tended to concentrate in the North. Even under slavery they had exceptional opportunities as they were selected primarily for house servants and freed in much higher proportion than were the full blacks. They have always enjoyed a superior social status. That their superior mental status is due to their superior cultural opportunities is demonstrated by comparing their test performances with those of individuals of more Negroid ancestry, with the environmental factor held constant. Thus, Herskovits correlated the intelligence-test scores of college students with Negroid traits as determined by anthropometric measurements supplemented by genealogical histories. Although it must be admitted that obvious differences in degrees of pigmentation and other traits affect one's standing and opportunity in both the Negro and the white world, nevertheless the individuals comprising the group studied had at least one significant cultural advantage in common: they were all college students. Herskovits found that in no case

were the correlations significant as showing a lower degree of intelligence with greater degree of Negroid traits.

One of the most significant findings of the studies of intelligence is the great variation between individuals of any given race and the large degree of overlapping between the test scores of members of different races. That is, there are superior, average, and inferior individuals in every race; and some individuals in any race are superior to some individuals in other races, and some are likewise inferior. The racial as compared with the individual differences are small and relatively unimportant. It has been aptly stated that there are no superior or inferior races or nations or classes with regard to mental ability but only superior and inferior individuals. This provides a sound basis for an individual rather than a racial treatment of the Negro or of any other person.

In conclusion, one can say that there is no proof that Negroes and whites are inherently different in mentality or that they are inherently the same. So many nonracial factors enter into the results that no definitive answer emerges. Moreover, it is doubtful whether the mental-testing technique will ever lend itself to any comparison of native differences independent of background factors. The tests, however, have revealed a number of differences between the group. The responsibility for the differences has still to be divided between the two general factors of heredity and environment. So far as heredity, which is a biological factor, is concerned, it is at bottom a matter of individual family stock, not of race, which is an arbitrary classification. That is, heredity is carried by specific organisms and in family lines, not by social groups. There are superior and inferior strains in every grouping of peoples, whether by race or nation or class. What the average incidence of hereditary factors may be, is not known. As to the environmental factor, it has been clearly demonstrated that social and cultural conditioning affect the test scores. There are marked differences depending upon variations in background. As compared with the white's, the Negro's social background is inferior, and in terms of achievement of the type measured by the tests, the Negro is on the average inferior, but as the environment of the Negro approximates more and more closely that of the white, his inferiority tends to disappear. The upshot of the matter, as Klineberg concludes (in *Race Differences* and in *Characteristics of*

the American Negro) from a survey of the literature, is that there is no scientific proof that Negroes are innately inferior.

CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS

Finally, the doctrine of the Negro's inherent inferiority holds that throughout history, whether in Africa or elsewhere, the Negroes have never developed a real civilization or higher culture; that the contribution of outstanding Negroes in science, art, and literature is slight; and that the achievements which have occurred are mainly in athletics, music, and poetry, which makes it all the more probable that inherent race differences do exist. According to this argument from culture history, the Negro is a man without a past. So commonly have whites held to the notion of the inferior nature of the African background that many Negroes are themselves convinced of it and would like to forget their origin. To such persons Herskovits (*The Myth of the Negro Past*, p. 32) says, "Africa is a badge of shame; it is the reminder of a savage past not sufficiently remote, as is that of European savagery, to have become hallowed." On the other hand, a movement has long been going on among Negro scholars to provide the Negro people with a respectable past. Studies have been made of Negro history, of eminent Negroes, and of Negro cultural contributions—matters largely neglected by white historians. This movement is an expression of Negro protest, comparable to the role of the Negro newspaper in the contemporary field. Its purpose is to enhance self-respect and race pride among Negroes by substituting a belief in race achievements for the traditional belief in race inferiority.

What is the unbiased evidence from cultural anthropology and social history regarding the Negro's achievements? To begin with Africa, how much truth resides in the assertion by Popenoe and Johnson (pp. 281–283), who hold to the doctrine of Negro inferiority, that the Negro race in Africa has never by its own initiative risen much above barbarism although it has been exposed to a considerable range of environments and has had abundant time in which to bring to expression any inherited traits it may possess? In the first place, this statement definitely slights the matter of environment. Africa is the most isolated of all the continents—a factor of tremendous handicap since it is well known that communication leading to cultural exchange has been of prime importance in the development of culture. Especially is this true of

Negro Africa, that is, Africa south of the Sahara. The extent of ocean both east and west is unfavorable to approach by sea; and the presence of deserts on the north and southwest impede any penetration by land. The coast is relatively unbroken, affording little protection for shipping or facility for disembarkation. Although Africa is three times the size of Europe, its coast line is only about three-fourths as long; and there are scarcely any first-class natural harbors, whereas Europe possesses many. Most of the important rivers have cataracts or falls not far from their mouths, which is owing to the fact that they must descend abruptly from the great plateau which forms the interior of the continent. Not only is transportation by water thus restricted, but land communication in the heart of Africa is extremely arduous. The jungle or the tall grasses are so luxuriant that the natives have never developed roads. Moreover, except for Australia, Africa is the most deficient of all continents in great mountain systems and the most arid. The only considerable forest area lies in its west central portion; the remainder ranges from parkland through steppe to desert. The soil is poor, the tropical climate enervating; harmful insects abound, and endemic diseases are rife. It has been said that the African natives have done well to have survived and multiplied in such an environment—a feat which white men, except in the temperate regions in the south, have been unable to do, save with the props of technology and science developed under more favorable environmental influences.

Despite these handicaps the native Africans developed a culture that, viewed in its time and setting, was of high order and among the most advanced of preliterate peoples. As was mentioned in the first chapter, their cultural contributions included the smelting of iron; the development of agriculture; contributions to music and the plastic arts, to proverbs and folk literature; and the development of the military art and political and governing systems. The Africans have also shown considerable ability in assimilating the culture of Islam and later of Christian invaders. Prof. Lowie (pp. 40-41) states regarding the Negroes of Africa: "If we contrast Negro culture on the average not with the highest product of Dutch, Danish, or Swiss culture, but with the status of the illiterate peasant communities in not a few regions of Europe, the difference will hardly be so great as to suggest any far-reaching

hereditary causes." Furthermore, if cultural achievement is our criterion, we must ask, writes Ina C. Brown (pp. 13-14),

. . . not only what opportunities a given people have had, but at what period they are to be judged. If we take 3000 B.C. as the period, we find North Europeans completely unknown, and the highly developed peoples are to be found in Egypt, Babylonia, and the Indus valley. If we move to 1500 B.C., we find the Cretans in their glory with the Greeks still primitive. A thousand years later Greece was in her golden age, but in another five hundred years the now dominant Romans were purchasing Greek slaves as servants and as teachers for their children. At the beginning of the Christian era the civilized Romans wrote scornful descriptions of the heathen Britons; descriptions which can be matched almost word for word with those which Britons, fifteen hundred years later, wrote of the heathen Africans.

When transplanted to the Western Hemisphere and placed side by side with the white race, the Negro, it is further asserted by the racialists, has failed to come up to their standard. This view disregards or slights the heritage of slavery and also the fact that the Negroes had to adjust themselves to a new environment. In spite of these handicaps and in spite of centuries of exploitation, the Negro in the New World survived and even flourished. He accommodated himself to white man's culture. In Latin America, says Tannenbaum (p. 205),

. . . he quickly learned to speak either English, French, Spanish, or Portuguese, he put on white man's clothes, he became a Baptist or Catholic, and in the early days of the conquest, even while still a slave, he became peculiarly identified with the conqueror, and may be said in many cases to have been one of the participants in the conquest, and in Brazil one of the leading defenders of Brazil against the Dutch.

On the island of Santo Domingo he won his independence and set up two republics, the Haitian and the Dominican. In many parts of Latin America the Negro today is "a landowner, a businessman, a politician, an educator, a member of the Senate, a poet, an artist, a trade-union leader, a rich man, a poor man, a beggar—in a way not different from the white man's."

In the United States the Negro had to learn a new language, a new religion, different methods of work and customs of life. Having made this painful adjustment in slavery, with its injustices

and hardships, he had to make a no less sudden and difficult change in life when thrust into the peculiar perils of the new freedom. In all this he has shown great adaptability and considerable power of assimilating culture. The economic, educational, religious, and other progress he has made since emancipation constitutes a remarkable record.

contribution

Moreover, the Negro has not merely taken on the white man's culture but has made notable contributions to it. James Weldon Johnson (*The Autobiography of an Ex-colored Man*, pp. 87-88) has said: "The colored people of this country have done four things which refute the oft-advanced theory that they are an absolutely inferior race, which demonstrate that they have originality and artistic conception, and, what is more, the power of creating that which can influence and appeal universally." These original contributions are, first, the Uncle Remus stories, collected by Joel Chandler Harris, and the folk rhymes and proverbs; second, the spirituals, whose beauty was first revealed to the world by the Fisk Jubilee Singers; third, ragtime, jazz, the blues, and other forms of popular music; and fourth, the cakewalk, fox trot, Charleston, and numerous other dances. These folk creations of the Negro, which had their origin during slavery, have been taken over and assimilated. They are no longer racial, they are national; they have become a part of our common cultural fund. Negro secular music has been developed into American popular music; Negro dances have been made into our national art of dancing; even the plantation tales have been transformed and have come out as popular bedtime stories; the spirituals are still distinct Negro folk songs, but they have reached the concert stage, through arrangement by Harry T. Burleigh and other musicians, and may some day be a strong element in American music. These folk products constitute a national asset of first rank. It is perhaps not too much to say that the folk creations of the Negro are the only things artistic that have sprung from American soil and out of American life, and they have been universally recognized as distinctively American products. "The one thing that may be termed artistic, by which the United States is known the world over, is its Negro-derived popular music." These folk creations may be lower forms of art, but as Alain Locke (p. 235) says: "It is just as important, perhaps more so, to color the humor of a country, or to influence its tempo of life

and feeling, or to mold its popular song, dance, and folk tale as it is to affect its formal poetry or art or music." Besides, the formal expression of art and literature derives much of its inspiration from themes and melodies that are the product of the soil.

In the field of formal expression the individual Negro artist has definitely emerged in literature, in the theater, and on the concert stage. This artistic achievement of the Negro has done much not only to challenge the belief in Negro inferiority but to break down prejudice against him. The list of outstanding figures is impressive. Its quality may be suggested by citing just a few of the well-known names. Among Negro concert artists are Marian Anderson (whose voice, said Toscanini, is "such as one hears in a hundred years"), Roland Hayes, Carol Brice, Dorothy Maynor, Paul Robeson, Kenneth Spencer, Todd Duncan, Anne Brown. Among composers and arrangers may be mentioned James A. Bland (the author of "Carry Me Back to Old Virginny"), William C. Handy (father of the blues), Thomas W. Waller, and in serious composition Harry T. Burleigh, Robert N. Dett, the child prodigy Philippa Schuyler, Clarence C. White, and William Grant Still. Orchestra conductors include Dean Dixon, Rudolph Dunbar, and Hall Johnson, and popular band leaders include Louis Armstrong, Count Basie, Cab Calloway, Duke Ellington, Louis Jordan, and numerous others. Negro artists include such painters as Edward M. Bannister, Henry O. Tanner, and, more recently, Archibald J. Motley, Jr.; such painters and illustrators as Aaron Douglas and E. Simms Campbell, and such sculptors as Richard Barthe and Augusta Savage.

From the days of Negro minstrelsy to the Negro musical comedy and serious drama and the appearance of Negro actors in mixed companies, Negroes have contributed much to the American theater. They brought in new types of dancing, originated new steps, developed the singing orchestra, and in other ways gave a fresh interpretation and vitality to the American stage. Among the well-known performers are Bill Robinson, Pearl Primus, and Katherine Dunham in the dance; Lena Horne, Eddie Anderson, Canada Lee, and Hattie McDaniel on the screen; and Bert Williams, Ira Aldridge, Charles Gilpin, Florence Mills, Paul Robeson, Rose McClendon, Richard B. Harrison, Ethel Waters, Muriel Smith, and Frank Wilson on the stage.

Outstanding Negroes in the field of letters include such poets

as Paul Laurence Dunbar, Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, and Claude McKay; such writers of fiction as Charles W. Chestnutt, Jean Toomer, Eric Walrond, Richard Wright, Zora Neale Hurston, and Frank Yerby; such authors as Arna Bontemps, William Stanley Braithwaite, W. E. B. DuBois, James Weldon Johnson, Alain Locke, George S. Schuyler, Walter White, and Carter G. Woodson. As an indication of the growing recognition of the Negro artist in various fields, the following events which occurred in 1943 may be cited: For his book, *No Day of Triumph*, J. Saunders Redding received the Mayflower Cup, awarded by the North Carolina Society of Mayflower Descendants in conjunction with the State Library and Historical Association for the best book published by a North Carolinian during the year; W. E. B. DuBois was elected to the National Institute of Arts and Letters, a society whose membership is limited to 250 scholars drawn from all over the nation; the medal for good diction of the American Academy of Arts and Letters was given to Paul Robeson; an Anisfield Award went to Roi Ottley for his *New World A-coming*; and Marian Anderson received an honorary Doctor of Music degree from Smith College.

In the field of athletics Negroes have been outstanding in boxing and in track events. Because of discrimination they have not competed with whites in other sports, although the barrier has recently been lowered in college football and professional baseball. Among Negroes in boxing, outstanding records have been made by Henry Armstrong who was the first boxer ever to hold three world titles at one time—the featherweight, lightweight, and welterweight—and Joe Louis, the heavyweight champion. When Joe Louis retired undefeated from the ring, Arthur Daley, sports editor of *The New York Times* (June 27, 1948) wrote: "For more than eleven years he has worn the purple with a dignity, a graciousness, and an innate nobility that has never been matched in pugilistic history. . . . No one ever held the title longer, defended it more often or wore the crown with more regal bearing." His Legion of Merit citation estimated that he had addressed and boxed before two million soldiers and thereby had made "one of the greatest contributions to the reconditioning program for veterans overseas."

In track events, Negroes have excelled in the broad jump, high jump, and sprints. Among the famous names, as holders of world

or Olympic records, are those of Jesse Owens, Eddie Tolan, DeHart Hubbard, Harrison Dillard, Barney Ewell, Mal Whitfield, Lorenzo Wright, Phil Edwards, Ralph Metcalfe, Cornelius Johnson, Binga Dismond, and Willie Steele. So extraordinary has been the Negro's record in such events that the notion has grown up that his proficiency is due to racial traits such as the structure of his legs and feet. The cultural explanation, however, seems more plausible: the Negro has engaged in such events because they are less expensive as to outlay and equipment, require less intensive coaching, and encounter less discrimination on the part of whites. Race prejudice has kept the Negro from competing or playing with whites in numerous types of athletic contests, especially those involving physical contact or suggestive of social equality. Moreover, Negro colleges and schools are poorly equipped and cannot offer training and expert coaching in all fields, and Negroes in white schools and colleges are not welcome in all sports; also many are too poor to afford the time and money to engage in certain types of athletic activity. One may predict that, as their status improves, Negroes will be found to excel in all lines of sports.

Notwithstanding a widespread belief to the contrary, it is by no means certain that a disproportionate number of American Negroes have achieved distinction in the artistic and literary fields and in athletics. Persons in such endeavors are in the public eye and are more likely to be known than those in science, mechanical invention, and the learned professions. Moreover, it is only as interested parties, such as the Negroes themselves and white students of race relations, have looked up the record and published their findings that people generally could know what the Negro has done; almost nothing of this sort exists in general histories or other sources with which whites are familiar. For example, it will come as a surprise to most whites to learn that Negroes have distinguished themselves with nearly 5,000 patented inventions. With the exception of three patents granted to free Negroes before the Civil War (for a mechanical corn husker, a device for handling sails mechanically, and a vacuum pan for use in sugar refining), all these have occurred since emancipation. The slave could not legally apply for a patent. The inventions which Negroes have patented range from electrical devices, chemical compounds, machine guns, and mechanical appliances

to lubricating devices and submarine gadgets. Many of them have contributed to America's industrial development, notably the invention of shoemaking machinery by J. E. Matzeliger. In the world of science the Negro is gaining recognition, especially in the fields of biology, chemistry, and medicine. Most widely acclaimed of Negro scientists is the late George Washington Carver (*c.* 1864–1943), agricultural chemist who served long at Tuskegee Institute and whose researches on the sweet potato, peanut, and other agricultural products have added immeasurably to the prosperity of the South. Next to Booker T. Washington, whom Dr. John Spencer Bassett (p. 299) called "the greatest man, save General Lee, born in the South in a hundred years," Carver has received more public recognition than any other Negro. Besides numerous scientific honors and awards bestowed upon him, his birthplace in Missouri was made a Federal memorial in 1943; in accordance with a resolution of Congress, President Truman proclaimed Jan. 5, 1946 (the anniversary of his death), as George Washington Carver Day; and a new 3-cent stamp was issued in his honor on Jan. 5, 1947.

In the field of public affairs, outstanding examples of Negroes who have attained eminence on sheer merit include William H. Hastie, governor of the Virgin Islands, and Ralph J. Bunche, acting mediator for the United Nations in the Palestine situation. Among their numerous public services, Mr. Hastie had formerly served as Federal judge and as Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War; Dr. Bunche helped to draw up the charter of the United Nations, and he has served as director of the United Nations trusteeship division.

It has been said with some truth that many whites adopt an attitude of condescension toward Negroes and exaggerate their achievements. It is also the case that the Negro community attaches excessive prestige to the successful Negro. As Roi Ottley (p. 189) remarks:

When a Negro is a success, it is credited not only to him but to the whole race. Close track is kept of Negroes who have been successful in all fields, but especially in those fields in which Negroes excel in competition with white men. . . . The Negro feels that achievement by a Negro breaks down the prevailing opinions of the Negro's inferiority. Actually, though, Negro achievement has an even more

positive effect upon Negroes themselves. It is indeed a shot in the arm which helps to tear away inner feelings of inadequacy, and thus to quicken the social advancement of the entire race.

As a result of the attitudes of both whites and Negroes, it frequently happens that the work of a Negro is acclaimed which, if appraised objectively, would be considered mediocre. To avoid such bias the names mentioned above have been taken from standard reference volumes like *Who's Who in America*, standard works on the fields discussed, or the general press. How the Negro has fared in disinterested evaluations is suggested by the facts that 613 Negroes are listed in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (4.5 per cent of the 13,633 nonliving notables included in that compilation), 91 in *Who's Who in America* (1944-1945 ed.), and 77 in *American Men of Science* (7th ed.). These are underrepresentations on a population basis; but as Embree (p. 7) has said: "It is not surprising that this race, only three generations out of slavery and still discriminated against at every turn, has not yet come to full development. The surprising thing is that in so short a time and against such heavy odds so many have risen to the very top in achievement and in fame."

The doctrine of innate inferiority has been gainsaid by the advancement of the Negro and undermined by scientific research. Since it is a keystone in the structure of Negro-white relations, is the whole system of discrimination and segregation likely to collapse and the Negro become fully integrated? No such quick and simple solution seems likely. The doctrine is in essence a system of rationalization. A certain racist is alleged to have said: "We haven't any definite scientific proof of the innate inferiority of the Negro, but we have hopes." Whether or not the statement is apocryphal, it illustrates an important fact. As Ray Stannard Baker (p. 241) observed some years ago about the South: "It wants Negroes who are really inferior and who *feel* inferior. The Negro that the South fears and dislikes is the educated, property-owning Negro who is beginning to demand rights, to take his place among men as a citizen." Although there is a growing liberal white Southern element that favors Negro advance, it still appears to be the general view that the Negro must keep his place, even though it is an improved one. A basic cause of trouble, in the North as well as in the South, is that the Negro will not keep his place. He is

restless and ambitious; he wants civil, political, and economic equality. He will not content himself with the place of inferiority. Actually, he has developed more rapidly than his opportunities for participation in American life have widened. Whites feel called upon to justify their stand and to rationalize their prejudices and discriminatory acts. Since these are maintained by irrational sources, they are not likely to succumb to appeals to reason. Rather do they appear to shift their ground though in the long view the shift is in the rational direction. That is, the status of the Negro *has* improved and likewise the general estimate of his accomplishments and potentialities. But prejudice remains, and it is likely to continue as long as it has something to feed upon, such as obvious differences between groups and the need to feel superior to others. Moreover, competition, insecurity, exploitation, and other factors are elements in the race problem and will not be removed by disproof of the doctrine of the Negro's innate inferiority. The doctrine will probably continue to shift its ground and become extenuated; it may eventually be converted simply into a rationalization of the taboo against social equality and intermarriage; it may even disappear. But a race problem will remain as long as there are races; that is, as long as there are recognized physical differences between peoples. "The race problem," as Baker (pp. 292-293) said, "is the problem of living with human beings who are not like us, whether they are, in our estimation, our 'superiors' or 'inferiors.'" In essence it is the same problem as living with people of different nationality, of different culture, and of different social class. All these problems of human relations call for constant efforts at adjustment—of mutual give and take, respect for the rights of others, and equality of treatment.

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CHAPTER 18

RACE MIXTURE AND INTER- MARRIAGE

American Negroes constitute a highly diverse group, not only as to educational attainment, economic position, social class, and other cultural characteristics, but as to physical or racial traits as well. They are a greatly mixed population. They comprise, in the first place, a mixture of various African peoples: West Coast Negroes, Sudanese, Nilotic, and Bantu, with some traces of Hamitic and Semitic elements. Next, they show a considerable admixture with white Americans through concubinage of colored women in slavery days together with some legal intermarriage then and later. Finally, they have the additional ingredients of American Indian and, to a lesser extent, various colored immigrants: African, West Indian (itself a mixture of Negro, European, and Indian), East Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino.

There is nothing unusual about such intermixture. Wherever and whenever races have come together, they have intermingled. This fact, incidentally, is the best possible indication of the absence of any innate aversion of races to one another. What is uncommon in the American situation is the intensity with which the Negro element is disparaged. This is invoked by the metaphor "blood" when describing ancestry, though, of course, it is the genes, not the blood, which carry hereditary traits. Even a drop of "Negro blood" is commonly regarded as a taint; and a person of Negroid ancestry, no matter how remote the Negro strain and no matter how little his appearance resembles that of a Negro, is considered *Negro*. This popular verdict is reflected in the definition of the word Negro used in the U.S. Census of 1940, in which no attempt was made to distinguish between those of full Negro extraction and those of mixed Negro and other ancestry. The instructions to enumerators read:

A person of mixed white and Negro blood should be returned as a Negro, no matter how small the percentage of Negro blood. Both black and mulatto persons are to be returned as Negroes, without distinction. A person of mixed Indian and Negro blood should be returned as a Negro unless the Indian blood very definitely predominates and he is universally accepted in the community as an Indian.

If this statement were to be interpreted from the physiological standpoint, it would imply an extraordinary potency of "Negro blood" to make a Negro out of a person "no matter how small the percentage of Negro blood" he possesses. It refers, however, to the social situation in which persons with any known Negro ancestry are assigned to the inferior rank of Negroes.

In view of their greatly mixed quality, it is obvious that the thirteen million people listed by the U.S. Census as Negroes are not a race in the biological sense of sharing distinctive common hereditary physical characteristics. Rather are they a race in the sociological sense, that is, a self-conscious group of people who regard themselves as a race and are so regarded by others, whether or not they actually are a race in the biological sense. Whereas physical or biological characteristics are inborn, sociological race characteristics are acquired. The term "race relations" refers to race in the sociological sense.

The actual biological composition of the American Negroes runs the whole gamut from pure Negro to almost pure white. The terminology commonly employed to designate certain degrees of intermixture is as follows. The term "mulatto," strictly speaking, refers to the offspring of parents of whom one is white and the other a Negro. It is derived from the Spanish word for mule, indicative of hybrid origin. As used popularly and also by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, it includes any degree of mixture. The term "quadroon" means a person of one-quarter Negro ancestry, or the offspring of a mulatto and a white. The term "octoroon" signifies a person of one-eighth Negro ancestry, or the offspring of a quadroon and a white. For all other and lesser degrees of Negro admixture the term "near white" is employed. The term "sambo" (Spanish, *zambo*) is used, much more frequently in Latin America than in the United States, to describe the offspring of Negro and Indian parents.

In the United States all such persons are likely to be classified with the full blacks as Negroes and treated as such, either in

private social relations or in public civil relations. Discrimination and segregation either imply or call for a definition of Negro. In the laws requiring separate schools, separate provision for the races on public conveyances, and other forms of segregation, and in the laws prohibiting intermarriage, a Negro is variously defined as a person having one-quarter or more, or one-eighth or more, or any perceptible trace of Negro blood or, broadly, as "a person of color" or "a person of African descent." In the case of the laws barring intermarriage the tendency among the states is toward much stricter definitions, including persons having any Negro ancestry, however remote the strain may be. After all has been said and done, commented the Negro educator, Kelly Miller (p. 145), as good a definition of "Negro" as has ever been devised is "a person who would be Jim-Crowed in Virginia."

Despite the popular notion to the contrary, it is difficult and in many cases impossible to identify a person of slight Negro ancestry by his physical appearance. For example, Army officials have had trouble on this score, as is illustrated in the following typical cases. An Evansville man, who gave his race as white, was charged with fraudulent enlistment when it was later learned that in Evansville he was classed as a Negro. His plea was that he had already served for three years in the regular Army as a white man. Two persons assigned to a colored infantry regiment sought discharges on the ground that they were white. One turned out to be a Spaniard; the other admitted that he had some Negro ancestry but stated that the Army had accepted his brother as a white man, and he didn't see why he should be treated differently. The other side of the matter was revealed in a case in which a person of mixed Negro-white ancestry requested a change in his army classification from "white" to "colored." A number of men with Negro blood served as officers, and everyone thought they were white. We shall see more of this situation later under the topic of "passing." Some steamship lines and other business concerns in the South employ "Negro spotters," persons who are supposed to be skilled in detecting any evidence of Negro ancestry, but they are far from being infallible. Enforcement of the segregation laws in the South becomes a ticklish matter when attempting to distinguish near whites from whites, for a white person regards it as a grievous insult if he is mistaken for a Negro or colored person. Courts have held that defamation of this kind is actionable as being

disparaging to a person in his trade, business, or profession. An interesting case is cited by Stephenson (pp. 27-28) as follows:

In 1900, a Reverend Mr. Upton delivered a temperance address near New Orleans. The reporters, desiring to be complimentary, referred to him as a "cultured gentleman." In the transmission of the dispatch by wire to the New Orleans paper, the phrase was, by mistake, changed to "colored gentleman." The *Times-Democrat* of that city, unwilling to refer to a member of the Negro race as a "colored gentleman," changed it to "Negro," and that was the word finally printed in the report. As soon as he learned of the mistake, the editor of the paper duly retracted and apologized. But Mr. Upton, not appeased, brought a suit for libel and recovered fifty dollars damages.

A number of notable people have been near whites; others are alleged to have been. Alexandre Dumas, *père*, was the son of a Haitian planter and a Negro woman. Alexander Pushkin, founder of modern Russian literature, was the offspring, on his mother's side, of a full-blooded African Negro. Alessandro de Medici, first hereditary Duke of Florence, was the illegitimate son of Giulio, who later became Pope Clement VII, and a mulatto servant girl; he married Margaret, the illegitimate daughter of Charles V. John VI, King of Portugal, was a dark mulatto; his son, Pedro I, became first emperor of Brazil. The Empress Josephine is alleged to have been a near white. Rogers (pp. 18-19, 36) claims that Robert Browning, Beethoven, and Haydn, among others, had Negro ancestry and calls attention to the fact that thousands of Guinea Negroes were imported into Europe in the early centuries of the African slave trade (1440 to 1773) and that today not one of these pure blacks remains. The absorption was probably greatest in Portugal and Spain. Among notable Americans, the story persists that Alexander Hamilton, who was born in the island of Nevis, British West Indies, was of Negro descent. Complete proof or disproof of this allegation is difficult, since he was born out of wedlock. If Hamilton was not a Negro, he certainly brought two Negro sons into the world. One married a very light-colored wife; the other married into a white family and lived as white. Among prominent near whites today are William Stanley Braithwaite, author, and Walter White, executive secretary of N.A.A.C.P. (see his article, "Why I Remain a Negro").

HISTORY AND EXTENT OF RACE MIXTURE

Mating of whites and Negroes began as soon as the Negroes landed in America, and it still continues although to a constantly diminishing degree. Just as there was doubt concerning the status of the first Negroes, so there was doubt concerning the initial policy of racial intermarriage and intermixture. The association of white servants with Negroes, both as servants and slaves, gave rise to considerable miscegenation, including legal marriages until laws were passed prohibiting such unions. Sex relations outside of marriage were sufficiently common and mulatto children were sufficiently numerous to lead to the enactment of a law in 1662 that the children of slaves should follow the condition of the mother and not ever of the father. Olmsted (I, 258-259) reported that this law, which was maintained throughout the period of slavery, offered "a direct encouragement to the most mischievous licentiousness." DuBois (p. 139) refers to the mulatto as "the product of house service in the South." The U.S. Bureau of the Census publication, *A Century of Population Growth* (p. 91) states: "There were many mulattoes in the United States even before 1800; by a census of Maryland in 1755, 8.0 per cent of the Negroes were returned as mulattoes." Intermixture occurred with special frequency in Louisiana. "In Louisiana," writes Mangum (pp. 237-238), "there has been so much infusion of Negro blood that it has been said that a marriage license would be refused only in cases where the admixture is evident from the appearance or other characteristics of the party making the application."

In the South, with the exception of the very earliest days, the intermixture—all extra-marital—has been one-sided, involving white men and colored women. Powdermaker (p. 192) reports that "the usual version of the sexual inequality in Cottonville [pseudonym for a town in Mississippi] is that the white men and colored women 'have the run of both races.'" David Cohn (pp. 28, 83), a native of the Mississippi Delta, writes: "The bed of the Negro woman has been a leveling ground of democracy, a doctrine upon which all could agree. Delta Negroes are of every shade." He also states that "occasionally a white man goes completely native, living openly with a Negro woman in a Negro section of a town, associating only with Negroes, withdrawing himself from the world of whites," Davis, Gardner, and Gardner

report in their study *Deep South* (pp. 6, 37, 39, 40) that in some places miscegenation has been so extensive as to affect the general relations between the groups, softening the rigors of the caste system. Although the community refuses to recognize the relation of the white parent to the mulatto child, the men often fulfill the role of father as far as the caste system will permit. "They care for their children, clothe and educate them, and may even live with them. In some cases the white fathers send their Negro children away to be educated and in a number of instances have provided for them in their wills." These are instances of more formal concubinage. Other cases of sexual union are of the casual type, with little or no assumption of responsibility on the part of the white man.

Both Negro and white observers in the South are agreed that direct infusion of white blood through illegitimate relationships is on the decrease. The two races are not in such intimate contact as they were in earlier days, especially during slavery, and public opinion in both races has become increasingly opposed to inter-racial immorality. Moreover, the changed status of the Negroes has made them less subject to sexual exploitation. Significant also is the advancement of the Negro, such as his improved economic and educational condition and his development of a more stable family life, which has been a powerful factor in the decline of extra-marital interbreeding. Whereas the role of mistress to a white man was once highly desired, entailing economic security and a measure of prestige within her own group, today colored women who consort with white men are declassed. Miscegenation, like illegitimacy, is heavily tabooed, especially among middle and upper class Negroes.

A curious by-product of racial mixture in the United States is the presence of isolated racial islands of Indian-white-Negro hybrids. Among the larger communities of this type are the Brass Ankles of South Carolina; the Cajans or Cajuns of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana; the Croatans of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia; the Jackson Whites of northern New Jersey and lower New York; and the Melungeons of the southern Appalachians. All show signs of Indian, white, and Negro mixture though some, like the Cajuns, deny the presence of any "Negro taint." The members of these various mixed-breed communities have this in common: a social status intermediate between that

of whites and Negroes. This has resulted, according to Guy B. Johnson (p. 516), from two factors: "Their own determination not to be classed as Negroes and the white people's determination not to accept them as whites." Life in these communities is primitive; they all present a picture of extreme poverty, ignorance, and social decay. This has been attributed by some writers to race mixture ("mongrelization," they call it), but it appears rather to be due to extreme isolation which has caused, on the one hand, excessive inbreeding and, on the other hand, social stagnation. All these communities have been isolated for generations, some for as long as 100 to 200 years. The isolation has been caused by both social and geographic factors: their exclusion from the society of whites because of their "colored blood" and their location in mountainous and other inaccessible places.

The extent of Negro-white mixture in the general population is not accurately known. During its history, the U.S. Bureau of the Census has made six classifications of Negroes as black and mulatto, meaning by the latter term any degree of Negro-white intermixture. The proportion of the Negro population returned as mulatto in the various censuses was as follows: 1850, 11.2 per cent; 1860, 13.2 per cent; 1870, 12.0 per cent; 1890, 15.2 per cent; 1910, 20.9 per cent; and 1920, 15.9 per cent. Considerable uncertainty, however, attaches to this classification since the accuracy of the distinction made depends largely upon the judgment and care of the enumerators. Moreover, the definition of the terms "black" and "mulatto" adopted at different censuses has not been uniform. At the Censuses of 1850 and 1860 the two terms appear not to have been defined at all. At the Census of 1870 the instructions were to report as "black" all persons who were "evidently full-blood Negroes" and as "mulatto" all other persons having "some proportion or perceptible trace of Negro blood." At the Census of 1890, the term "black" included all persons "having three-fourths or more black blood," other persons with any other proportion of "black" blood being classified as "mulattoes," "quadroons," or "octoroons." At the Census of 1910 the instructions were substantially the same as at the Census of 1870. Finally, at the Census of 1920 the instructions were to report as "black" all full-blooded Negroes and as "mulatto" all Negroes having some proportion of white blood. It is an interesting sidelight on the variability of these results that the relatively high

proportion of mulattoes reported in 1910 is attributed to the greater care exercised that year and the employment of many Negro enumerators who returned a higher proportion of mulattoes than has usually been reported by white census takers.

Experts in the field are generally agreed that the proportion of Negroes with white admixture is much higher than the census has ever reported. As early as 1908 Ray Stannard Baker (p. 153) stated: "From my own observation, and from talking and corresponding with many men who have had superior opportunities for investigation, I think it safe to say that between one-fourth and one-third of the Negroes in this country at the present time have a *visible* admixture of white blood." The most scientific study of this question thus far made is that by Professor Melville J. Herskovits, entitled *The Anthropometry of the American Negro* (1930). Using anthropometric techniques supplemented by genealogy, he found that 71.7 per cent of his presumably representative sample of 1,551 Negroes had some white ancestry. Of the remainder, 22 per cent were classed as unmixed Negro and 6.3 per cent as Negro mixed with Indian. With regard to Indian admixture, he found that in addition to the 6.3 per cent with just Negro and Indian ancestry there were 20.9 per cent with Negro, white, and Indian mixture, making a total of 27.2 per cent of the Negroes with some Indian ancestry. Although his sample was drawn from various sections of the country, it contained too many cases from the Atlantic seaboard states where there is probably a disproportionate number of Negroes with white ancestry; it also contained too many upper class Negroes, who are known to have a disproportionate amount of white ancestry. On the other hand, this selective factor may be counterbalanced by the fact that many Negroes may not know of white ancestry several generations back. It should be noted that the proportions cited above refer to the existing Negro population and do not take into account those hybrids who have passed into the white or Indian populations. Myrdal (p. 133) comments:

While we cannot say that existing research permits a definitive answer to the question as to how many Negroes have some white blood, the best available evidence and expert opinion point to a figure around 70 per cent. This figure must tend to increase with time, if for no other reason than that full-blooded Negroes intermarry with mixed bloods and their offspring become mixed bloods.

BIOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL EFFECTS

In another study (*The American Negro*) Herskovits concluded that the American Negro is establishing a physical type, that is, becoming a homogeneous population group which is as little variable as any of the unmixed parent stocks from which he has sprung. He believes that this homogeneity is the result of a sharp decrease in the amount of crossing between whites and Negroes, a decrease caused by the disapproval of such crossing on the part of both the Negro and the white community. On the other hand, Holmes (pp. 181-182) finds himself unable to accept this conclusion. After examination of the evidence presented by Herskovits, the Army anthropometric data, and such other fragmentary materials which bear on the problem, he maintains that, as populations go, the American Negro is relatively heterogeneous.

It is more variable in most traits than most African tribes. It is more variable than most samples of European peoples that have been measured, such as Swedes, English, and Scottish students, etc., or the soldiers of various European nations in the United States Army. It is more variable, also, in most traits, than the old Americans measured by Hrdlička. It may not be much more variable than the present exceedingly heterogeneous white American population.

Thus the question as to whether the American Negro population is becoming a homogeneous brown "race" is not yet resolved, but it provides interesting speculation as to the future.

With reference to race mixture in general, it is the conclusion of scientists that there are no proved advantages or disadvantages as far as the hereditary make-up of half-breeds is concerned. The biological results of race crossing seem to depend entirely upon the nature of the particular individuals who are involved. In the offspring of mixed ancestry, the specific racial traits do not blend but appear in various combinations, such as dark skin and blue eyes, light skin and everted lips, or light skin and kinky hair. From her anthropometric studies of Negro-white families Caroline Bond Day concluded that the mixed type appears in his skeletal make-up to possess more of the bodily proportions of his Negro ancestors than those of his white forebears; in these respects the Negro strain seems to be dominant. In skin color, hair form, and shape of features, white ancestry appears to be more dominant. Some writers hold that from the standpoint of health

and native intelligence mulattoes are superior to full Negroes, but as we have seen, there is no proof that the differences observed are due to hereditary factors.

From the social standpoint, the effects of race mixture are far reaching. The mixed type (whom for the sake of brevity we will call mulattoes, regardless of the degree of intermixture) has long enjoyed superior opportunities and a superior social status as compared with unmixed Negroes. Most of the Negro leaders have been mulattoes. In view of the long history and the great extent of race mixture in the United States, it is difficult or impossible to state categorically that a given individual is unmixed, but the following persons of prominence appear to show little or no trace of white admixture: Phillis Wheatley (1753-1784), the first Negro in America to win recognition in purely intellectual attainments; Sojourner Truth, who played a leading part in the battle for abolition; Isaiah Montgomery, personal servant to Jefferson Davis and the founder of Mound Bayou, all-Negro settlement in Mississippi; Alexander Crummell, missionary to Liberia; Paul Laurence Dunbar, poet; R. R. Moton, former head of Tuskegee Institute; George Washington Carver, scientist; Charles Walker, preacher and educator; Mary McLeod Bethune, school founder and organizational leader; Kelly Miller, educator; Richard R. Wright, banker; Robert S. Abbott, publisher; Roland Hayes, singer; William Pickens, executive. These names are cited merely as illustrations of the fact that there have been leaders with seemingly unmixed Negro ancestry. The list could be extended, but it would not attain the dimensions of a list of mulatto leaders.

Mulattoes are also to be found in larger proportion among upper class Negroes. Negro society, like Caesar's Gaul, is divided into three parts: yellows, browns, and blacks, in the order named so far as social prestige goes. It is not going too far to say that Negroes themselves draw the color line. The lighter colored form cliques to which the darker Negroes are admitted, if at all, only by wealth, education, or attainment. There are reasons for the superior attitude on the part of the mulattoes. A larger proportion of them than of the full blacks derive from the free Negroes and from the favored class of house slaves. In a number of instances they are descended from the masters themselves, even from eminent persons like Alexander Hamilton, as mentioned above, Patrick Henry, who had a Negro son named Melancthon, and

Thomas Jefferson who had at least five mulatto children. Frequently the mulatto offspring were well educated by their white fathers; especially was this so in the case of the famous quadroons of New Orleans. Following emancipation, as we have already noted, the mulattoes more than the blacks entered business and the professions. Their superior social and economic position has been maintained to this day.

In colored America to be well born very often implies being born with a light skin. Certainly, greater advantages accrue to the person with light skin color. Social mobility proceeds at a faster pace for them, and social prestige is more readily attained. It is difficult, for example, for a dark college student to make a Negro fraternity or sorority. The popular men and women at Negro schools or in Negro circles are commonly those who are light in color and have "good," that is, straight hair. The term "light" usually connotes less Negroid characteristics in hair and features as well as in color. To make a "good" marriage, as Powdermaker (p. 175) points out, means to "marry light." Especially strong is the tendency of successful men to marry women lighter than themselves, which Powdermaker thinks is an additional reason for the greater proportion of mulattoes in the upper class. It also appears to be the case that dark women of superior ability are frequently married to light-complexioned men. This likewise tends toward lighter complexions among the more active and prominent Negro element. Although the evidence is not so clear cut in the economic field, it appears that advantages by and large lie with the mulattoes, at least with respect to the better jobs.

Negro Americans are very color conscious and in their conversation and writings make frequent reference to color distinctions. In the Negro community there is often a great variety of complexions, accompanied by an elaborate terminology, ranging, for example, from the cool white and the rose-and-olive to the creams, the honeys, the high yellows, the yellows, the high browns, the smooth browns, the dark browns, the sealskins, the chestnuts, the ashy blacks, and the shiny blacks. In placing high social value on light skin color and unfizzled hair, the Negroes reflect the attitude of the dominant whites, whose standard of beauty and prestige is white. It also seems that the whites prefer mulattoes because they look more like white people. White America puts a premium on lack of color. As one colored man said, "Have a

white skin, and all things else may be added unto you." Another Negro remarked, "It's no disgrace to be black, but it's often very inconvenient." It is to be expected that a colored minority will be affected by the dominant pattern, therefore, and not only esteem light color but try to make itself appear as light as possible. Hence the widespread efforts on the part of Negroes to bleach the skin and straighten the hair—efforts on which considerable time and money are spent. The desire on the part of Negroes to be like whites in appearance as well as in culture might be termed an attempt to extend acculturation to the biological realm of physical traits.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson (*Growing Up in the Black Belt*, pp. 258ff.) found that color preference was strikingly noticeable among Southern Negro youth and that color had a strong influence on personality. In the testing program and in the direct interviews the young people consistently rated their own complexions a shade or more lighter than they appeared to be. They showed a decided tendency to classify as black a disproportionately large number of negative judgments (for example, "Black is ugly," "Black is evil," "No black people hold good jobs," "Black people can't look nice in their clothes," "Black looks dirty," etc.), while in the list of "favorable" descriptions by both boys and girls light brown showed by far the highest ranking, with second place going to "brown" as the most desirable color. Johnson (p. 267) further points out the serious consequences for Negro youth arising from the social values associated with color:

Conflict situations may develop between families and arise within families. It often happens that darker children in families feel that their parents give preference to the children of lighter complexion. Even such inadvertent and casual comparisons as "better hair," "nicer complexion," "prettier skin," "nicer shade" affect the more sensitive young people and contribute to their feelings of inferiority. Children may apply color values unfavorably to one or the other of the parents or find themselves apologizing for the dark complexion of a parent. They may even harbor resentment against the parent who was biologically responsible for their own undesirable appearance. By far the most frequent instances of color sensitivity, however, occur outside the home as the child attempts to make adjustment to new groups.

In school and play groups, when dissension breaks out, color epithets are frequently hurled, such as "Blue Gums," "Tar Baby,"

"Shine" or "Yellow Bastard," "Black is honest, yaller steal." Although mulattoes generally appear to be proud of their lighter complexions, they are at a disadvantage when the question of paternity is raised by their darker associates. This often appears in the game called "the dozens," the object of which is to speak of the opponent's mother in the most derisive terms possible. "Many boys," says Johnson (p. 185), "know long series of obscene ditties and verses concerning the immoral behavior of the mother of the one whom they are 'putting in the dozens,' and they sometimes recite for hours without interruption."

In their study, *Color and Human Nature*, Warner, Junker, and Adams state (p. 293) that an individual who differs from the majority about him at any social level is at something of a disadvantage and likely to be either unduly retiring or overaggressive. Typical situations would be a light-skinned person in a lower class group or a dark-skinned person in an upper class group. They believe that brown-skinned persons are on the whole the happiest group in Chicago Negro society, inasmuch as they deviate less markedly from other people in that society than do individuals at either color extreme. Drake and Cayton (p. 503) mention the tendency among Chicago Negroes to idealize "brownness" in contradistinction to "blackness."

Negro journalists and publicists have popularized expressions such as "sepia artists," "The Tan Yanks," "Brown Bomber." The very name Bronzeville [for the Negro community] is one of these euphonisms. Nowhere is the cult of the brown skinned more vividly revealed than in newspaper advertisements for cosmetics and hair preparations. Today, the brown-skinned girl with "good hair" is the type. A decade ago such ads featured the "white" type of girl.

This growing emphasis on "brownness" represents a challenge to the light-skinned caste by the rise of the darker people to higher status brackets through the extension of education, the accumulation of money, and the increase of "race pride." The convergence of color preference around "brown" suggests that the Negroes have ready a name for the new race that Herskovits and Embree (*Brown Americans*) believe to be developing. Anyway, in view of the great amount of admixture, the term "black" seems inappropriate. The term "Negro" has already moved far from its original

meaning to include persons of any known Negro ancestry as well as members of the black race.

In contrast to the situation in the United States where all persons of Negro ancestry, no matter what amount, are classified as Negroes, in the West Indies those of mixed Negro-white ancestry are recognized as "colored" and form a separate, although not rigidly defined, caste intermediate between whites and blacks. The position of the colored is distinctly superior to that of the pure blacks. The colored constitute a real middle class just as the blacks constitute a lower class. They fill the official and commercial positions which lie between menial labor and higher administrative control and mingle freely with the whites in business and other relations and even socially. This does not mean that the blacks are openly excluded from participation in the life of the community; rather it implies that they are the poorest and most rural group and that only the exceptional individual is able to overcome the obstacles to success. The mulattoes act as a buffer between the whites and the blacks. No black can rise except insofar as he is accepted by the mulatto middle class. The race leaders in the West Indies thus tend to be black, and they rail against the mulattoes as well as the whites. This is in sharp contrast to the situation in the United States where the mulattoes have been the most aggressive leaders of the race. Moreover, the West Indian blacks, who greatly outnumber the whites, have a great deal of race pride. They are not ashamed of their color. They do not undertake the impossible in trying to change their features with hair-straightening and skin-bleaching processes as is so common among American Negroes. They are much like the Africans who boast of being black and comely. Finally, in contrast to the situation in the United States, intermarriage is not prohibited by law, and while it is not common between Negroes and whites, it is not disapproved. The West Indian immigrant to the United States, whether colored or black, brings with him a different concept of race and of race relations which affects his adjustment both to the American Negro group and to American society generally.

PASSING

A prevalent practice that has arisen out of the American pattern of race relations is the crossing of the color line known as "passing" or "passing for white" or, as the Negroes phrase it,

"going over to the other side." It ensues as the result of two factors: the presence of large numbers of mixed breeds who cannot be distinguished from pure whites and the practice of classing as a Negro a person who has any known Negro ancestry, even the slightest tincture. It thus becomes possible for the light-skinned Negro to circumvent discrimination and segregation by passing for white.

Passing may be intentional or unintentional. As an example of the latter, it frequently happens that in the anonymity of the city and in impersonal relations light-colored Negroes are mistaken for whites without their being aware of it. Intentional or voluntary passing may be occasional—as going out to dine or to the theater or when traveling—or permanent. The permanent type may be segmental or total. Segmental passers are those who earn their living in a white world and have their social life in a Negro world. Those who pass totally disappear entirely from the Negro world and become white in business, social, and all other relationships. Passing is much more common in Northern and border states than in the South because there is less risk in being found out. It may also be noted that whites sometimes pass as Negroes, either occasionally for some specific and temporary purpose or permanently. A typical example of the latter is the white woman who marries a Negro and joins the colored community. She is tempted to claim that she is a light-skinned Negro because of the aversion with which many Negroes regard interracial marriage.

Sometimes a person of Negro ancestry will cross the color line because of a white marriage or love affair, but most generally when Negroes pass, either segmentally or completely, the motivation is economic—the desire to hold jobs or have careers which are not open to Negroes. Negro girls, for example, have little or no chance of getting jobs as stenographers, secretaries, salesclerks, even teachers or social workers, except in Negro organizations; and most middle and upper class occupations are closed to Negro men. The incentive, therefore, to pass professionally or in business is very strong. If such passing is of the segmental type, it involves difficulties in all sorts of personal relations with associates in the place of work for fear that these may lead to exposure.

The light-skinned Negro who permanently and completely cuts himself off from the colored world usually moves to another part

of the country where he is unknown and begins an entirely new life. "Sometimes," says Asbury (p. 6), "he prepares for the adventure by learning Spanish, French, Italian, or Portuguese or by cultivating an accent. He thus becomes a foreigner, and as everyone knows, a foreigner is apt to be any shade of color." Posing as a foreigner is also a common practice in occasional passing in order to avoid being Jim-Crowed. Even dark-skinned Negroes have passed by the aid of fancy turbans, exotic names, and phony accents. To be successful in permanent passing, the individual must sever all ties with his past life as if he were dead and then re-establish himself in a new life as if he were reborn as a new personality. This involves considerable emotional strain and sometimes a feeling of guilt for having deserted the Negro world. The tension of passing is so great that many later return to the Negro group. Some who feel insecure try to prove their white orthodoxy by turning violently anti-Negro. Walter White (p. 14) has said: "Some of the most vehement public haters of Negroes are themselves secretly Negroes."

By the very nature of the case there is scanty material on permanent passing. Almost every Negro knows of instances, but exposure is rare. Negro leaders assert that a number of prominent people in American life are passing. These include a United States Senator, a few members of Congress, certain writers, a famous girl band leader, a movie star, a well-known radio singer, and, as mentioned before, several organizers of movements to keep the Negroes and other minorities "in their place." On the rare occasions when the public learns of cases of passing, it is usually because of some circumstance connected with the death of the individual in question. Thus, after the suicide of Lieutenant William J. French in 1932 it was publicly revealed that he was one-eighth Negro, had passed for white for fourteen years in the Army, and had led white troops in France during the First World War. *The Crisis* (February, 1932, p. 62) commented editorially at the time: "Lieutenant William J. French of the United States Army, who committed suicide recently, made an enviable record in the Army. It is now discovered that he had several drops of Negro blood, which seems to disturb some people. We shudder to contemplate the disturbance if all the Negro blood in this country stood revealed." When Carl H. Loh, wealthy Tarrytown society man, civic worker, and churchman, died, he left bequests to his

mother and sister whom he had not seen since he left Georgia 33 years previously. Through this relationship it was revealed that he was a quadroon who had successfully passed as a white man all these years. In 1948 a New York attorney publicly revealed his Negro origin for the first time in order to claim the \$800,000 estate of his grandfather, Colonel John McKee, a Negro. The attitudes of Negroes toward permanent passing are varied. According to Burma (p. 22), some race-proud individuals condemn it; others feel that it is a good joke on the whites; still others defend it on rational grounds, holding that those who can pass are fools not to pass. "The remainder, a large percentage, do not feel strongly enough in either direction to take any active interest in an individual case, feeling that it is 'none of their business.'"

A source of great anxiety to those permanently passing, and especially to those who have white mates, is what the color of their children will be. This is also a matter of much concern to mulattoes who are not passing. Both fear that their children may be dark and are terrified at the thought that they may even be black. According to genetic laws, however, this worry is largely unfounded. Scientists, using statistical methods, have reduced to a percentage basis the occurrence of possible ranges of color for different combinations of parents. For instance, as Dr. Julian Lewis (pp. 6-7) states:

Two very fair-complexioned Negroes will produce children 18 per cent of whom are pure white, 65 per cent the same color as the parents, and 17 per cent a shade darker than both parents.

Intermarriage between full Negroes and full whites never results in children as dark as the Negro parent or as light as the white parent; 18 per cent of children born of such unions are one grade lighter than the Negro parent, while 82 per cent are two grades lighter.

When a white person mates with a very fair Negro who is sometimes able to pass for white but not of the "pure white" type, 40 per cent of the resulting children are of the same color as the white parent, less than 60 per cent are the color of the Negro parent, and less than 1 per cent is darker than the Negro parent. The possibility of this one exception frequently causes untold worry and concern in such unions.

Some of the children of matings involving fair Negroes are pure white according to accepted standards of whiteness. Such types are known to geneticists as "extracted whites." When an extracted white

mates with a full white or another extracted white, none of the children will ever be darker than the parents.

This should reassure many of the thousands of Negroes of passing lightness to cross the color line each year yet constantly living in dread that their Negro blood will appear in the form of a reversion to Negro characteristics in one of their children.

Negroes have other obvious physical characteristics such as facial features and hair texture. Little is known about the way in which facial features are transmitted and not much more about transmission of hair types. Hair forms are transmitted in much the same fashion as skin color, but skin color and hair type are inherited separately. For this reason fair individuals with woolly hair and dark individuals with straight hair are frequently seen.

The majority of Negroes who could pass permanently do not do so. Burma (p. 22) would place this proportion as high as 90 per cent. Anxiety, fear of exposure, race consciousness, and family ties are among the deterrent factors. Moreover, some lack incentive for passing since they enjoy high status in the Negro group which they would not exchange for a lower position in the white group. Especially is this true of women, who do not pass in as large numbers as do men. They do not have the same economic incentive, and being a preferred marital group because Negroes, particularly the successful ones, prefer light-colored wives, they can make better matches by remaining in the Negro group. If she remains a Negro, a light girl is in a privileged position, but if she crosses into the white group, she becomes just another "white" woman among thousands, and her complexion and features are no longer a peculiar asset. So marked is this sex differential in passing that the mulatto group shows an excess of females. A study of the census data for 1920—the last time the Negro population was reported as "black" or "mulatto"—showed that while there were 1,018 men for every 1,000 women among the blacks, there were only 886 men for every 1,000 women in the mulatto group. Possible explanations of this discrepancy, which has no biological foundation, are that more mulatto men than women reported themselves as white, that mulatto males were under-enumerated because of their greater mobility or other reasons, or that more mulatto males than females had crossed the color line. Expert opinion inclines toward the last-mentioned reason. This view is strengthened by the fact that the low ratio of mulatto men to

women is particularly noticeable in the large cities of the North where passing is easiest. It should also be mentioned that the greater tendency of males to pass is a factor in causing the low sex ratio of the entire Negro population. As we observed in the chapter on Negro health and vitality, the number of females has exceeded the number of males in the Negro population at each census since 1840. The higher Negro male death rate undoubtedly provides the chief explanation of this phenomenon, but the underenumeration of Negro males and the greater tendency of Negro males to pass are also factors.

How many Negroes pass permanently into the white group? Estimates range from 2,000 to 30,000 a year. The first effort to arrive at an unbiased estimate was made by Hornell Hart (pp. 28-29) incidental to a study of migration. His method consisted of comparing the census returns for native whites of native parentage by age groups at the two censuses of 1900 and 1910. For example, those who were 10 to 14 years old in 1900 should be 20 to 24 years old ten years later. This group cannot increase; it might decrease through emigration and death, but there should be no increases. Hart found, however, that the census returns showed an increase. After estimating the number who had died or emigrated, he arrived at the conclusion that the bulk of the increase was the result of the passing of Negroes upon reaching maturity over to the white group. The number thus passing he estimated at 250,000 for the decade or 25,000 per year. Burma (p. 19), however, applied the same method to the census returns for the decades 1910 to 1920, 1920 to 1930, and 1930 to 1940 and got radically different results. He concluded that census data and vital statistics are not accurate enough to shed any light on the number of persons legally Negro who pass as white.

Another method of estimating the extent of passing by noting discrepancies in the sex ratio, was used by Charles S. Johnson ("The Vanishing Mulatto," p. 291), who held that about 20,000 persons pass each year from the Negro to the white group. This technique also has the weakness of the original census data, and it reveals the extent to which men pass more than women rather than the total amount of passing. Eckard (p. 498) used census data in a still different way in arriving at his estimate. Figures for the white and Negro populations of 1930, adjusted for deaths and immigration, were compared with the 1940 population aged 10 and over.

"According to the 1940 Census, there were 26,000 more whites than calculated and 26,000 fewer Negroes. These figures indicate that the number of Negroes 'passing' from 1930 to 1940 was very small, probably less than 2,600 per year."

Caroline Day (p. 11) used the genealogical approach in estimating the amount of passing, but this was only incidental to her study of families of mixed Negro-white ancestry. On the basis of her data it would appear that about 15 out of every 1,000 Negroes passed, but her families were not intended to be representative of the general Negro population. Burma (p. 20) estimated that about 40 per cent of the Negro families in the United States are comparable to those studied by Dr. Day and concluded that

. . . if the same ratio holds for the total as for the sample, the number of mixed bloods who have passed and married white would equal about 4 per cent of the total Negro families. Since there are approximately 2,750,000 Negro families, that would furnish an estimate of approximately 110,000 persons legally Negro who are now permanently passing as white. Since this group would cover an age range of about forty years, it might be estimated that some 2,500 to 2,750 persons each year change their racial classification from Negro to white.

From an examination of these methods one can only conclude that the data are not sufficiently accurate to permit estimates within reasonable limits and that the extent of passing is not known. So inherent are the difficulties that reliable firsthand information cannot be obtained. Those who have passed conceal it, and their children and grandchildren may often be completely unaware of their mixed origin. The biological effect of permanent passing is, of course, to introduce a colored strain into the white population. Perhaps a majority of the Negroes who pass marry whites. Their children will seek white mates, as will most of the children of light-complexioned Negro couples who pass, thus diffusing the Negro element more widely. Further absorption comes through the marriage of whites with nonpassing Negroes and through illicit Negro-white matings when these result in offspring light enough to move permanently over into the white population.

INTERMARRIAGE

Twenty-nine states have laws which make intermarriage between whites and Negroes illegal and void. The 19 states having no such prohibition, that is, where Negro-white intermarriage is legal, include the 6 New England states (Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont); the 3 Middle Atlantic states of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; 4 of the 5 East North Central states (Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin); 3 of the 7 West North Central states (Iowa, Kansas, and Minnesota); 1 of the 8 states in the Mountain division (New Mexico); and 2 of the 3 Pacific states (Washington and California). In other words, legal prohibition of intermarriage is characteristic of the South and the West whereas legal permission of intermarriage is characteristic of the North and the East. It is of interest that the laws prohibiting marriages of whites with members of races other than the Negro, such as Indian, Mongolian, and Malayan, are also to be found in the West and the South.

Most of the states that prohibit marriages between whites and Negroes have provisions under which offenders may be punished. In some instances a violation of the law is a felony, in others it is only a misdemeanor. Some of these states have statutes punishing members of different races for cohabitation or concubinage or for indulging in any acts of sexual intercourse with one another. Mangum (p. 239) says:

The constitutionality of statutes prohibiting and punishing interracial marriages or cohabitation is no longer in doubt. Such laws have been held not to violate the guarantees of the Fourteenth Amendment. In fact it was said in one instance that the privileges and immunities of Federal citizenship guaranteed by the amendment do not include the right to marry outside of one's own race.

The laws prohibiting interracial marriage, it is interesting to note, provide an exception to the rule that a marriage, if valid where celebrated, is valid everywhere. Thus a Negro-white couple legally married, say in New York, would find their marriage had no validity if they should change their domicile, say to Georgia, on the ground that it is opposed to public policy.

As was mentioned earlier, the laws prohibiting racial intermarriage find it necessary to define a Negro. The usual definition is a

person having one-eighth or more of Negro blood. The tendency is toward much stricter definitions, and in at least seven states language is employed which may be construed as prohibiting marriages of whites with persons who have any Negro blood, however remote the strain may be. The registration statutes of Virginia and Georgia are also indicative of this tendency. These laws require each person to give on a registration form his ancestry so far as obtainable, in order to show in what generation any admixture might have occurred. Before a marriage license is issued, these records must be examined by the clerk; and if proof of racial purity is absent, the privilege to wed shall be denied. Such laws have proved difficult to enforce. In a Virginia case, for example, where a license was denied to a white man and a woman, one of whose grandparents was registered as "free colored," the court ordered a license to be issued to the couple on the ground that the law went beyond the bounds of reason in empowering clerks to withhold marriage licenses if one of the applicants is "not of pure white race." The judge stated, and anthropologists would agree, that purity of race is a fiction. It should also be noted that, however diligently such laws may be administered, they can be circumvented by the simple device of moving into a more tolerant region.

The attitude of Negroes, as reflected in the pronouncements of their leaders and organizations, is one of opposition to the laws prohibiting intermarriage. They protest not because they advocate intermarriage but for the following reasons. They hold that these laws (1) imply that the Negro is innately inferior; (2) lead directly to concubinage, bastardy, and the degradation of the Negro woman; (3) promote the very thing they are intended to prevent, namely, miscegenation; and (4) are unnecessary since intermarriage seldom occurs where permitted. There is no doubt that a great deal of miscegenation has occurred in the states with laws prohibiting intermarriage—more perhaps than in the states where intermarriage is legal. The number and proportion of Negroes in the population, however, is an important factor that would have to be considered in making such a comparison. Whether there would have been more or less or the same amount of miscegenation if the laws of the South had permitted intermarriage cannot be demonstrated. One can only say that instead of being entirely illicit, some of it would have been legitimate. Although many factors enter into the situation, it may well be that

the laws barring Negro-white marriages have operated to promote illicit relations between white men and colored women, for they can be carried on with impunity. William Pickens (p. 365) has said, "If a law were passed compelling white men to marry the colored women with whom they are living or by whom they may have had a child, such a law would prevent more miscegenation in twelve months than a law prohibiting marriage could ever prevent in twelve generations."

In states where intermarriage is legal, there is little mating between whites and Negroes. Public opinion appears to be strongly opposed to such unions. The few statistical studies that have been made—for Boston, New York State exclusive of New York City, and New Haven—show rates of around 3 per cent or less of Negro marriages. The longest series of studies are for Boston, 1914 to 1938, with a rate of 3.8 per cent of all marriages involving Negroes, and New York State (excluding New York City), 1916 to 1936, with a rate of 2.9 per cent. The New York statistics indicate little trend; the Boston figures show an over-all decline as follows for the various periods: 1900 to 1904, 13.6 per cent; 1914 to 1918, 5.2 per cent; 1919 to 1923, 3.1 per cent; 1934 to 1938, 3.7 per cent. If the cases of intermarriage are considered relative to the total number of marriages involving whites, the percentage is quite insignificant.

Negro-white intermarriages occur more frequently in cities than in rural areas. The most frequent type is that of a Negro man and a white woman. The economic and occupational status of the Negro groom is generally superior to that of the white bride. When a white man marries a Negro woman, the man is frequently foreign born, and both are generally of low economic status. Sometimes, however, in both types of mating the marriage is between highly educated professional people. That so few white men marry Negro women may be due to the fact that such marriages endanger their economic position. Negro men marrying white women encounter no such risk.

Professor Boas (p. 395) once suggested that it would be in the interest of American society to permit rather than to restrain marriages between white men and Negro women since the effect would be to increase the amount of "white blood" in the Negro population and eventually solve the race problem by so diluting the "Negro blood" that it will no longer be recognized. This was

in essence a proposal to extend to the marital realm the one-sided penetration of the Negro race that has been going on extra-maritally since the early days of slavery. Aside from the fact that it is public opinion or the mores that determines what type of marriage shall take place, it is pertinent to note that his suggestion leaves the Negro males entirely out of consideration.

Professor Linton (pp. 133-139) has predicted that there will not be enough recognizable Negroes left in this country in another 200 years to constitute a problem. He bases this statement on the following facts. The Negro population is already considerably mixed. He estimates its genetic equivalent at three-fifths or 60 per cent. This figure is obtained by assuming that 80 per cent of the Negroes are mixed and that not more than half of their genes have come from the Negro side and by adding these genes to those of the pure Negro group (20 per cent of the total Negro population). Since this population forms only 10 per cent of the total population of the United States, it follows that the Negro genes to be absorbed amount to only 6 per cent. This percentage, he further states, will be progressively reduced for the following reasons: (1) the proportion of Negroes in the population has been steadily declining; (2) the Negro is being more evenly distributed over the country and becoming increasingly urbanized, with an accompanying rise in the death rate and decline in the birth rate, and (3) the Negro is steadily becoming lighter, through infiltration of "white blood" into the Negro group and through Negro preference to marry light. The darker ones marry late or not at all; hence their numbers decline. Mulatto parents may have children who can pass. Even granted the validity of these trends, there is no suggestion, save in the process of passing, as to how the Negro genes will be absorbed. It may be implied from his statement that the Negro is becoming steadily lighter and that he expects passing will increase. On the other hand, Eckard (p. 500) concludes from his study of passing that at the rate it is now occurring, which he places at about 2,000 per year, it will take six thousand years to assimilate the twelve million Negroes in the United States, and this only if the Negroes maintain a stationary population, which they do not. Actually, they have been increasing at the rate of approximately 100,000 per year for the last thirty years. "Thus, the notion of white assimilation of the black is unrealistic and without factual ground." This process might be

accelerated if miscegenation were to increase, but the evidence, though incomplete, suggests that illicit intermixture is declining while intermarriage, hitherto a minor factor, shows little or no signs of increasing. Linton's statement has the virtue of drawing attention to the biological facts that the Negro population is greatly mixed and is relatively small. Sociologically, however, it looms disproportionately large.

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CHAPTER 19

CLASS AND CASTE

In all societies, except possibly the most primitive, social differentiation beyond that based on age or sex may be found to exist, and the members may be classified and ranked on the basis of criteria such as differences in occupation, in wealth, in education, in religion, in power, and in other social and cultural attributes. Such divisions or categories constitute social classes. The term "social class" has been variously defined, but it usually connotes a horizontal division of society embracing persons of the same or similar economic function and rank, religious or political status, and with common cultural characteristics. Historically, social differentiation, which is rooted in the dissimilarity in personal endowment, probably began with the development of division of labor and increase in wealth, was extended by slavery and conquest, and became relatively fixed through the inheritance of property and social position and through the limitations set by environment and opportunity on movement from one birth stratum to another. In American society the class lines are blurred and flexible, and the criteria of class generally form a continuum rather than being discrete like royalty, nobility, commonalty, serf. The class delineations are therefore somewhat arbitrary, and it is possible to designate as many or as few classes as suit one's purposes, just as on the basis of physical traits one may classify individuals into any number of races he desires. There are no natural class boundaries. For our purposes, the threefold classification of upper, middle, and lower strata will suffice.

Scarcely any attempt has been made to give precision to the phenomenon of social class. Though the term is widely used, criteria of class distinction vary, and no one can do more than guess at the relative sizes of the various classes. The following description of the upper, middle, and lower classes among Negroes is the result of an attempt to harmonize the groupings and data of various investigators, notably Drake and Cayton, Frazier, Gallagher,

Johnson, Myrdal, Ottley, Warner *et al.* It should be noted as a further qualification, that the actual class stratification differs between North and South, between urban and rural, and even between particular communities as, for example, Washington versus Louisville, New York versus Detroit. A further difficulty arises from the fact that the criteria of class within the Negro group differ somewhat from those found in the general population. For example, a person of moderate income according to national standards would be deemed a member of the upper income class among Negroes.

Though the writers do not agree as to the actual size of the classes, where indeed they make any estimates at all, they concur in the view that the lower class among Negroes is very large, the middle class small, and the upper class still smaller. No general or national data exist on which to base a judgment, save the Census Bureau figures on the socio-economic grouping of employed workers (cited above in Chap. 5). It might be stated very tentatively and more for the purpose of indicating relative size than actual proportions that, applying to the Negro population the same standard that would be applied to the white, about 80 per cent of the Negroes fall in the lower class, 15 per cent in the middle class, and 5 per cent in the upper class. (Comparable figures for whites would be, in the same round numbers, 40 per cent lower, 40 per cent middle, and 20 per cent upper class.) According to standards within the Negro group, the Negro proportions would be stepped up in something like this ratio: lower, 70 per cent, middle, 20 per cent, and upper class, 10 per cent. One further comment before describing the Negro class structure: it would appear that greater significance is attached to class distinctions in the Negro world than in the white. If this observation is correct, it [probably reflects the dual situation of the Negro striving hard to raise his status and gain prestige and, because of the color line, of his doing most of his social climbing within his own group.]

THE NEGRO UPPER CLASS

The upper class among Negroes is marked more by educational and family background and occupational status than by wealth. The group consists mainly of leading professional and business people and, in the South, prosperous farm owners and their families. The professional members include doctors, lawyers,

dentists, druggists, professors, concert singers, actors, writers, some teachers and principals, some ministers, and some employees in the civil service. The business group comprises the more prosperous proprietors, managers, and officials, especially in banking or insurance, contracting, real estate, and service establishments. In general, this group includes persons of high occupational ranking, particularly in fields where few Negroes are employed.

The Negro upper class has had higher education and, frequently, professional training as well. These are easier to obtain than higher income and are more important than the latter in securing upper class ranking. This group has a comfortable income, well above the Negro average, but not comparable to that of upper class whites. Home ownership is frequent and also ownership of other property. The houses are good, and there is considerable stability of residence. Women as a rule do not work outside the home.

The family background of the upper class is superior to that of other Negroes. Many are descended from the privileged house-servant class of slaves, many have free ancestry and also white ancestry, and all follow the practice of legal or licensed marriage. Illegitimacy and desertion are condemned, and puritanical standards of conduct are followed. The strict morality of this group probably derives some of its emphasis from the fact that it sharply distinguishes them from the general run of Negroes. Negroes of this class have a reputation for respectability and for deploring the behavior of lower class Negroes. The family tends toward the patriarchal type. Good manners, correct speech, polite behavior, and cultural attainments are stressed.

As to color, upper class Negroes are generally of fair complexion, especially the women, with a minority of brown-skinned and conspicuously few of dark-skinned individuals. To reinforce their upper class position they have attempted in some areas, particularly in the South, to maintain a caste based on color—excluding from their cliques and organizations all save those of fair complexion. This distinction has applied especially to women; darker mulatto men of education and good incomes have been admitted. This is the “blue-veined” or *café-au-lait* society which somewhat resembles the upper classes of Latin America, notably the Elite in Haiti. Such closely knit mulatto societies are tending to break up, and the relative proportion of dark-skinned indi-

viduals in the upper class is increasing as distinctions based on property, education, and achievement are gaining ascendancy over lightness of color. There is also emerging a colorful *café* society to which anyone may aspire. This group is composed of intellectuals with Harlem as its capital and with principal social centers in Chicago and Pittsburgh.

Exclusive, respectable Negro society has its capital in Washington, with important centers at Atlanta, Charleston, Durham, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. Rarely are its members seen in public places of amusement. Its children attend either Northern colleges or leading Negro colleges like Howard, Fisk, Atlanta, or Lincoln. This group is conservative politically as well as socially, generally votes the Republican ticket, and attends the Episcopal, Presbyterian, or Congregational church. A number of them have summer residences while others frequently spend summers abroad in order to escape the restrictions of the American color line which bars Negroes from most resorts. Negro society has also managed to circumvent this problem by establishing its own summer colonies. For example, says Ottley (p. 183):

Southerners may spend their vacations at exclusive Highland Beach, Maryland; Midwesterners can go to fashionable Idlewild, Michigan; and the Easterners, with a fairly wide selection, may live in several sections of New England, upstate New York, Long Island, and along the coast of New Jersey. They enjoy a gracious rural life and live in spacious and attractive country homes in Asbury Park, Greenwood Lake, West Hampton, and Martha's Vineyard. Motoring is difficult, because the tourist cottages do not accommodate Negroes. But the summer town calendar includes tennis and golf matches, yachting parties, moonlight sails, and an occasional horse show. Harlem has a horsey set which rides regularly on Central Park bridle paths.

~~The Negro upper class is thoroughly assimilated into American national culture.~~ It is a group that is practically unknown to Southern whites whose system of race relations never permits them to see a Negro except as a servant or in other standardized and formalized caste situations. This upper class is the most stable element in Negro America, and it possesses more personal security than any other class of Negroes. It is quite race conscious, and its membership includes practically all the race leaders. The leadership of the upper class is partly the result of personal achievements, which are generally acclaimed in the Negro press,

and partly of white recognition, which bestows considerable prestige on the recipient in the Negro community. Being consulted by whites concerning Negro welfare, taking part in mixed conferences, being esteemed by white colleagues, or having any personal relation to individual whites confers status. Myrdal (p. 727) comments:

The import of this is that leadership conferred upon a Negro by whites raises his class status in the Negro community. Correspondingly, it can be stated that an upper class position in the Negro community nearly automatically . . . gives a Negro the role of Negro leader. He is expected to act according to this role by both whites and Negroes.

[Carrying the responsibility of the major Negro institutions and cooperating with sympathetic and liberal whites, who give them financial and moral support,] the Negro upper class is symbolic of racial potentialities.]

THE NEGRO MIDDLE CLASS

The middle class is distinguished from the "crude" and "unpolished" masses by its emphasis on the symbols of respectability and success and its striving to better its condition and especially that of its children. Occupationally, it includes both white-collar and manual-labor groups. Among the former are minor businessmen, professional men with small practices, schoolteachers, social workers, some ministers, office workers, salespeople, and clerical employees in the civil service. Among the latter division are successful farm tenants, all the skilled and some of the semiskilled industrial workers, well-paid servants, and an intermediate group of transportation and public service employees like Pullman porters, dining-car waiters, policemen, and firemen. As among the whites, there is some social cleavage between the two groups, but considerable prestige is attached to the position of skilled craftsmen because such workers are relatively few and are regarded as "an asset to the race." There has long been a tradition of selectivity and pride in the responsible positions of Pullman porter and dining-car waiter while firemen and particularly policemen are regarded as "officials"—symbols of authority. In general, the middle class has regular, though low-paying, employment and a type of job that seems important in the Negro scheme of things.

There is some home ownership in this class and a marked desire to have decent housing and live in a good neighborhood—a desire that is largely thwarted by residential segregation imposed by whites. Middle-class Negroes have had primary or secondary education. They hold education in high esteem, are ambitious for their children, and, whenever possible, plan to send them to college. They have a fairly stable family life, though common-law marriages are not unknown. When illicit sex relations occur, they are carried on “in decent secrecy.” In contrast to lower class Negroes, the father is dominant in the family and the main economic support, though sometimes the wife is gainfully employed. The father’s authority is frequently exercised in a harsh and severe manner. The standards of this class are thrift, independence, honesty, and industriousness.

Middle class Negroes are prominent as church and community leaders. Usually they attend the Baptist or Methodist church. Lodge membership is highest in this middle group, and they are the organizers and members of the numerous social clubs that are to be found in Negro communities. They also lead and support civic organizations and reform movements. Among the older people the church and the lodge claim greatest attention; among the younger people the social club and the civic organization have greater appeal. Many of the skilled workers in the group, recognizing their common interests with white workers, are ardent unionists. The conspicuous consumption of the middle class is mainly devoted to social life, in putting up a good “front” by stressing “proper” public behavior. The whole atmosphere of middle class life is one of tension. Say Drake and Cayton (p. 668):

The drive to get ahead, to “lay a little something by,” to prepare for the education of children, and at the same time to keep up “front” by wearing the right kind of clothes, having a “nice home,” and belonging to the proper organizations—the pursuit of these goals brings into being definite social types which Bronzeville calls “strivers” and “strainers.” With limited incomes the problem of striking a balance between the conspicuous consumption necessary to maintain status and long-range goals like buying property and educating children becomes a difficult one.

Members of the middle class are mainly brown, with a minority of light-skinned individuals. They are very race conscious and

have much race pride. They tend to idealize "brownness" in contradistinction to "blackness." Behind the walls of segregation they find opportunity for advancement along business and professional lines, and many in this group favor the development of a separate Negro economy; at least they believe in "Negro business" and Negro institutions and organizations. The typical middle class Negro is keenly aware that Negroes don't have "their rights" but sees no hope in the extremists of either right or left. He is strong for "racial," including individual, advancement. In many respects he symbolizes the "New Negro"—anxious to get ahead, self-respecting, determined to be "decent," and hoping he will "get a break" in the future.

THE NEGRO LOWER CLASS

The large lower class among Negroes is much more Southern than are the middle and upper classes and also much more rural. These factors account in part for its lowly state of development. The rural contingent, which is almost entirely Southern, consists of farm laborers, sharecroppers, servants, and other unskilled workers. The urban group comprises the unskilled and some of the semiskilled industrial, construction, and other laborers, domestic servants, and other service workers such as janitors, porters, elevator operators, laundresses, and bootblacks. Many Negro preachers, especially in the rural South, belong in the lower class. The income of this group is low and uncertain. Since they are largely marginal workers, lower class Negroes suffer much unemployment, and a comparatively large proportion of them are on relief. The women work outside the home about as frequently as the men; in many instances they provide the main economic support. There is no property ownership. The poverty of the lower class Negroes is extreme, and their standard of living subnormal. In housing, food, clothing, and other necessities they lack the minimum essentials of decent living.

Their family life is unstable. Since legal marriage, particularly in the South, is rare and since illegitimacy and desertion are common, the family tends to be mother centered and even matriarchal. This is also frequently the case when the man is present, for the woman's opportunity for employment is often greater than his. She is commonly the mainstay of the family and the dominating element. This pattern of "dependent men and

forceful women" is characteristic of the urban as well as of the rural group. The composition of the household frequently changes, and residential mobility is great.

Lower class Negroes have had little education. The older members are generally illiterate. Great faith is placed in education as a means of improving their lot. In color both sexes are dark skinned. They are descendants of the field hands under slavery. In the rural South they include the "folk Negro"—that group which has only partially assimilated white culture and which follows its own set of customs and values. They are not much concerned about matters of race. Of the various classes, they have the least personal as well as the least economic security, and they suffer most from exploitation. They attribute their difficulties to race prejudice and lack of opportunity. There is no leadership within their ranks. Their major concern is "staying out of trouble." Delinquency and crime rates are high, sex behavior lax, fighting and roistering common. Their chief interests appear to be religion and recreation; on these they spend a disproportionate amount of time, energy, and money; in them they seem to find the greatest escape and satisfaction. Church membership is the leading symbol of respectability, especially in the South. Preferences are for the Baptist and Methodist, Holiness and Spiritualist churches, various cults and, in the cities, store-front churches. They worship with gusto. Recreation is sought in poolrooms, on street corners, at "policy" stations, in movies, dance halls, and taverns. The pursuit of pleasure, direct and exciting, is a dominating feature of lower class Negro life.

THE "SHADIES"

Some individuals fall outside the recognized and socially sanctioned class categories. These are known as the "shadies"—persons who earn their income in pursuits not generally recognized by the community as respectable. They are associated in one way or another with "protected businesses"—gambling, particularly "policy," bootlegging, narcotics, prostitution—and with the legal but nonetheless shady liquor interests and cabarets. Depending on the amount of income and influence, such shady individuals may be found within each class, being proportionately fewest in the upper and most numerous in the lower class. The lower class shadies merge with the underworld, which is beneath and outside the regular class structure. Johnson (p. 76) states:

Life in this underworld is hard, but its irresponsible freedom seems to compensate for its disadvantages. These are the people who create the "blues" and secular songs of the demimonde. They are the ones who have in greatest measure a sense of irresponsibility. Persons in this category may be criminal or merely loose. Some of them are even protected and used by white persons for their own ends, and as compensation are licensed to be "hellions" in the Negro community.

Shadies in the upper class include the "policy kings" and "gentlemen racketeers." They seek to gain upper class respectability by operating legitimate businesses on the side and by patronizing the arts. They go in for high living, lavish entertainment, and extensive travel. Warner and associates (*Color and Human Nature*, pp. 20-21) write of this group in Chicago:

Often they are seen at highly publicized civic affairs, cabarets, race tracks, and prize fights. Some of the women try to purchase respectability for themselves and their children by contributing large amounts to philanthropy. . . . The leaders of "shady" society often have business affiliations with similar promoters in Detroit or New York, and they lavishly entertain visiting celebrities of the Negro stage and screen. In fact, this group is characterized by its conspicuous spending.

The less important racketeers are classified with the middle class. These shadies are usually ostentatious, vulgar spenders, and many have prison records. Shadies of the lower class "live by their wits, boast of their ability to win at policy, and flatter both white and Negro superiors to wheedle money out of them. They are afraid of the law and definitely respect the police. Dream books, numerology, luck, and magic are persistent topics of their conversation" (p. 22). Within this group there is scarcely any family life at all.

CLASS TRENDS

Class distinctions among Negroes, as we have seen, go back to days of slavery, with the greatest distinction being between the free Negroes and the slaves and, among the latter, between the house servants and the field hands. Because the free Negroes and the house servants were characteristically mulatto groups, lightness of color became early established as a symbol of higher status. Following emancipation, the more or less arbitrary basis of class differentiation was removed, and other criteria arose. The tend-

ency has been away from free ancestry, white ancestry, light color, family tradition, and cultural refinements and toward occupation, education, and income as criteria of status. The comparatively great advantages of the group who qualified under the earlier basis of distinction, however, have enabled them to maintain a superior position though it is being constantly challenged and modified. Greater play for individual achievement has arisen as Negroes have entered into freer competition both among themselves and with the whites. Expanding opportunities along educational and economic lines have enabled the more capable and ambitious to rise above the masses. The movement to the cities and to the North has been accompanied by greater occupational differentiation, higher incomes, and more rapid acculturation. All these basic trends have affected the class structure. Not only the upwardly mobile middle class, but Negroes generally are striving to improve their status. As compared with the white class structure, that of the Negro falls short, both as to relative proportions and relative attainments. But it is heading in the direction of the white pattern. Whether it will eventually result in a parallel class structure or ultimately be integrated into the white class system depends upon the operation of the color line or caste principle.]

THE QUESTION OF CASTE

America has long been familiar with the term "color line" and the popular expression "keeping the Negro in his place" as descriptive of the subordinate status of Negroes. The term "caste" has recently been introduced and emphasized by various writers on race relations to describe the same phenomenon. This has led to a battle of words over such issues as the meaning of the term "caste," whether India has the only caste system, and whether the situation in the United States is, or merely resembles, a caste structure. Out of this discussion may eventually emerge a more scientific terminology and a more clear-cut analysis and understanding of American Negro-white relations.

As known in India, which has the most developed system, caste is a hereditary occupational class out of which no individual or his descendants may move. It apparently arose in an endeavor on the part of incoming Aryan-speaking peoples to preserve the status of their families against the consequences of intermixture

with the conquered aboriginal tribes. As it has developed, with religious and other sanctions, definite limitations to status are imposed by birth, and marriage is forbidden outside of the group. Race consciousness (so important a factor in the United States) appears to be a less potent factor than economic status.

Caste systems have arisen in various parts of the world besides India. There is no generic connection between them and no single factor underlying all systems; nor are their phenomena uniform. On the basis of common elements, a caste may be defined, according to Kroeber (p. 254), as "an endogamous and hereditary subdivision of an ethnic unit occupying a position of superior or inferior rank or social esteem in comparison with other such subdivisions." The status is hereditary from the point of view of the individual; that is, he is born into his group and must remain in it for life. The common factors mentioned above are marriage within the group or a prohibition of intermarriage; social hierarchy or unequal division of privileges, duties, obligations and opportunities; and permanence or lack of mobility between groups. To these three factors Warner (p. 234) would add etiquette or a set of rules which maintain social distance, and Johnson (p. 325) would add religious sanctions and mutual acceptance of the fixed status.

The essential characteristics of caste stand out more clearly when caste is compared with class. Says Kroeber:

Castes are a special form of social classes, which in tendency at least are present in every society. Castes differ from social classes, however, in that they have emerged into social consciousness to the point that custom and law attempt their rigid and permanent separation from one another. Social classes are the generic soil from which caste systems have at various times and places independently grown up.

It thus appears that a class system turns into a caste system by becoming rigid and permanent, and the chief means to that end are the prevention of social mobility and the prohibition of intermarriage. The class is dynamic, the caste static. Enforcement of such permanent separation is facilitated if the basis of distinction is arbitrary and discrete like nobles and serfs or free and slave, if fixed in law rather than continuous like education or income, and if the members of the various castes are biologically or racially distinguishable. Otherwise, movement from one group to another

would escape detection, and the caste lines would be weakened or destroyed.

Most writers are agreed that a genuine caste system between free whites and Negro slaves existed in the United States during slavery. Moore and Williams (p. 346) go farther and say that the caste relationship was wider than the slavery relationship and that the caste line separated whites from all Negroes, whether slave or free. The caste status of the Negroes was defined in the Black Codes. Some students hold that following emancipation the caste system based on slavery was transformed into a caste system based on color while others maintain that the Negroes have been escaping from a caste status and are becoming a racial minority. Myrdal (p. 667), however, rejects the term "minority" as applied to Negroes because it fails to distinguish between the temporary social disabilities of minority groups like immigrants and the permanent disabilities of Negroes. For the latter systematic type of social differentiation he uses the word "caste."

Warner (p. 235) is of the opinion that a caste line exists between whites and Negroes, that it was horizontal during slavery, but that since then with the cultural progress of the Negroes it has rotated upward. It may become perpendicular, with a parallel class structure within each caste. Theoretically, it could swing over toward the whites and the Negroes become the dominant caste. Gallagher (p. 87) holds that two caste patterns prevail: one in economic status, in which the Negro caste is integrated but not assimilated as an encysted group; and the other in social status, in which the line is horizontal, and every Negro is judged inferior to all whites. Park ("The Bases of Race Prejudice," p. 20) believes that with the development of industrial and professional classes within the Negro group the caste line has become vertical, so that "the races no longer look up and down: they look across." Myrdal (pp. 692-693), however, emphasizing the differences in class structure among whites and among Negroes, believes the caste line is not straight but curved, not vertical but diagonal. Moreover, he maintains, the white does not look across the caste line upon the Negro in a comparable class, but he definitely looks down upon him, and this attitude is materialized in a great number of political, judicial, and social disabilities imposed upon Negroes somewhat independent of their class. For example, none of the Jim Crow legislation distinguishes between classes of Ne-

groes. He also states (p. 689) that the caste principle, as insisted upon and enforced by white society, would undoubtedly be best satisfied by a classless Negro society in which all Negroes in all respects—educationally, occupationally, and economically—were in the lowest bracket and placed beneath the lowest class of whites. "This absolute principle has, however, never been fully realized even in the South."

If the actual situation of the Negroes, particularly in the South, is examined in the light of the basic qualities of a caste system, it appears that it definitely resembles a caste structure. It falls short of a pure caste system in that it is not rigid and fixed nor clearly defined. It appears rather as a modified caste system or, better, as a transitional state between an earlier clear-cut caste system and a possible future condition wherein caste lines are replaced by class lines.

The strongest resemblance to a caste system lies in the ban on intermarriage. This is symbolized in the declaration that "this is a white man's country" and in the great concern for "race purity." The insistence upon segregation and the rejection of social equality, as we have seen, find their rationalization largely as precautions against miscegenation and particularly intermarriage. As in a developed caste system, biological mixture of the men of the dominant group with women of the subordinate group is not prevented, but the offspring of such unions are assigned to the status of the inferior group. The strictures against similar relations between the women of the dominant group and the men of the subordinate group are extremely rigid, for only by this means can the caste lines be preserved. The only qualification of the caste principle in this respect is the legalization of racial intermarriage in 19 states. As we have seen, such marriages are infrequent.

The second strongest caste feature in Negro-white relations is the requirement by law of the separation of the races in public schools, on public conveyances, in public places of accommodation and amusement, and the like. In this category belong also any laws restrictive of the Negro's political rights and civil liberties. Since these are enacted, they tend to define his status with a certain fixity that is lacking in segregation and discrimination sanctioned only by prevailing custom. Of the latter type, segregation in residences and in social activities appears to be more

significant and far reaching from the caste standpoint than segregation in church and in economic activities.

Although there are occupational lines between the two groups, they are not sharply drawn and are becoming weaker as the Negro steadily approaches the occupational structure of the whites. Certainly, there is nothing comparable to the hereditary occupational class structure so prominent in the caste system in India. In their study *Deep South*, Davis, Gardner, and Gardner (pp. 454ff.) point out that economic relationships are less completely governed by caste than are intergroup relationships of any other type. "Indeed, the only type of behavior by which society allows a colored individual to express superiority to any white individual is economic behavior." In an economy based on private property and free competition it is inevitable that caste principles will be restricted. In economic traits and possessions some colored persons are superior to many white persons. There are even instances where colored proprietors and contractors employ and supervise white workmen. In the relationships between colored professional men and their white clients, as well as between colored storekeepers and their white customers, the whites are deferential. Also a certain solidarity exists between white and colored business and professional men. In the desire to obtain profits, entrepreneurs and middlemen are unmindful whether they buy cotton from a colored or white farmer, whether they sell food, automobiles, and clothes to one or the other, or whether they hire white or colored workers. White clerks serve colored patrons with at least a semblance of courtesy, and they serve them *in turn*. In the field of white-collar jobs, however, the taboo upon the employment of Negroes is still so strong in the South that employers hesitate to hire them. In general, the dogma of caste is usually effective in economic behavior only so far as it is consistent with the interests of white employers, and much variance exists between economic status and caste status. While cultural institutions—educational, religious, and social—are separate and distinct for each race in the South, economic institutions such as stores, filling stations, cotton gins, warehouses, banks, doctors' and lawyers' offices, are biracial. Caste is incompatible with good business. Like the institution of slavery, caste encounters difficulties in the attempt to adjust it to the manufacturing and commercial economy of the city.

A further modification of the caste system lies in the fact that the Negro's "place" is not clearly defined. If the Negro "kept his place," there would be a caste situation, but his place is by no means certain, even in the deep South, to him or even to the whites while in the North there is great doubt and confusion. The Negro's place differs according to time and location even within the same region. As Baker (p. 31) observed in his study *Following the Color Line*, published in 1908, "The color line is drawn, but neither race knows just where it is. Indeed, it can hardly be definitely drawn in many relationships, because it is constantly changing. This uncertainty is a fertile source of friction and bitterness." Today the situation is even more pronounced. Changes in the basic economy and institutional life of the country, as well as changes in the status of the Negro, are constantly creating new situations for which there are no established usages. In these situations new patterns tend to develop, and their inconsistency with old usages tends to weaken the latter. Race relations are definitely in transition and are filled with contradictions.

The uncertainty of the definition of the Negro's place makes it impossible for him to learn the so-called caste etiquette. A caste system usually has a code of etiquette since the prestige of a superior always involves the respect of an inferior. To be effective, it needs to be clearly defined, its observance insisted upon, and violations of it punished. Only in a general sort of way do these conditions obtain, even in the South. The rules vary from place to place, and the Negro can learn them only through experience. They are far from constituting a uniform and rigid system. As an illustration of the variations in the rules of racial etiquette, consider the following situation which Johnson (pp. 272-280) found to exist in his survey of eight counties in five states (Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee, and North Carolina). Only two practices were universally tabooed: intermarriage and interdancing. Also he found that Negroes must always use "Mr." and "Mrs." when addressing whites. In other respects there was the widest variation, a given practice being tabooed in some counties, permitted generally in others, and permitted sometimes in still others. It would appear that a Negro, when traveling, needs to be "briefed" as to local etiquette. For example:

Negroes must always say "Yes, sir" and "Yes, ma'am," when addressing whites except in two of the eight counties.

Negroes may eat with whites in two of the counties, may never do so in the other six. In the one case, eating together is tolerated for a few at school exercises, in the other, when whites are invited to a barbecue. They may use restaurants with whites in four of the counties when the races are separated by partition.

Negroes may never drink with whites in two of the counties except occasionally among the lower classes. They may drink with whites sometimes in the remaining six. They may drink with whites in drug and liquor stores in one county, at beer "joints" in another, when each party is about half-drunk from whisky in another, and among the lower classes occasionally in all the counties.

Negroes may never play games with whites in four of the counties but may in the others. Young children, however, may play together in any area.

Negroes never enter white people's houses by the front door in two of the counties; they enter this way sometimes in the other six. The exceptions are business and professional calls and when a Negro knows a white man personally. The practice depends upon the individual white man.

Negroes must give whites the right of way on the sidewalks in two of the counties.

Negroes may try on hats in all stores in all the counties save one. They may try on gloves in all stores in four of the counties and in no stores in one county.

Negroes may sit in all public parks in four of the counties, in some parks in two counties, and in none in two other counties.

Negro lawyers may try cases in all the counties except one.

Whites work *for* Negroes sometimes in five of the counties, never in the other three. Whites work *with* Negroes usually in two of the counties, sometimes in three, and seldom if ever in one. Whites are served by Negro doctors in five of the counties but not in the other three.

Negroes and whites worship together sometimes in five of the counties, never in the other three.

The rules of etiquette are symbolic of superior-inferior social position. For example, using the back door is not only the symbol of status for a servant but the symbol that a whole race has a servant status. Negroes are not addressed by whites as "Mr." and "Mrs." but are called by their first names, like servants and children, or addressed as "boy" or "girl." It is considered all

right, however, to call a Negro "Reverend," "Professor," or "Doctor." This withholding of respect when addressing them is bitterly resented by Negroes, especially those of education and upper class status. The title taboo is not invariable, however, for Johnson found that in three of his eight counties whites used "Mr." and "Mrs." when addressing Negroes, and Southern newspapers on occasion have done so also. When a Southern white is talking to a Negro and wishes to use the third person, he usually says "nigger." There are occasional exceptions: a sensitive white may substitute "your people," state and county officials frequently say "colored people" or "Negroes," and some whites say "niggra."

It appears to be the Southern practice that once the symbols of white superiority are satisfied, the Negro may be treated with respect and caste etiquette relaxed. The Negro servant may be regarded as a member of the family, remembered in wills, and buried in the family plot. A Negro who has won the esteem of whites may be publicly honored. Robert Lee Battle, for forty years the chef at Mercer University in Georgia, had the college yearbook dedicated to him in 1935 and was elected to the Mercer Alumni Association in 1938. When he died in 1940, his body lay in state in the university chapel, an honor generally reserved for university presidents and others of similar station. He was further honored by a memorial consisting of a set of chimes erected in the university chapel. When Philip L. Smith, for forty years porter at the Savannah Cotton Exchange, died, the flag at the Exchange was flown at half-staff in his honor. When the Rev. Charles Jagers died in Columbia, South Carolina, in 1924, the whole city went into mourning. During the half-hour of his funeral service, all business was suspended by proclamation of the mayor. In attendance at his funeral were the mayor, the secretary to the governor, the former governor, the head of the Confederate Camp of the Local Veterans, the editors of the two daily newspapers, and many other prominent citizens. The executive secretary of the Columbia Theological Seminary took part in the services as the representative of the whites. Not content with this display of affection and esteem, the *Columbia Record* raised funds for a memorial to the ex-slave in the form of an Old Folks' Home for colored people.

These instances are not only illustrations of variations in racial

etiquette, but they are also evidence of the fact that between the races there are bonds resulting from a common way of life and an intertwined experience which tend to blur castelike distinctions. Moreover, a caste system is not sanctioned by the church, nor has it the stamp of public approval. The fundamental law of the land does not support it, and political traditions are opposed to it. The caste principle is not mutually accepted. The Negroes are struggling against their status rather than accepting it, and the whites are constantly changing their views and redefining their own status in relation to the Negro. Separation does not appear to be rigid and permanent. For these various reasons it may be concluded that, while Negro-white relations have certain aspects characteristic of caste, the situation is more accurately described as castelike or as a state of modification of a caste system or of transition from such a system.

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CHAPTER 20

THE NEGRO'S REACTION TO HIS STATUS

What do Negroes think and feel about white people? How do they react to segregation, discrimination, and disparagement? What types of response do they make to the race situation? Answers to these questions will vary according to region and community, class position, family training, intelligence, individual experience, age, and other factors. The operation of these influences will be noted in the following discussion.

Powdermaker (*After Freedom*, pp. 325-331) thinks, at least so far as the Southern Negroes are concerned, that the Negro's reaction is typed more by age than by any other factor since his attitudes have been changing rapidly. A comparison by age groups, modified by other factors, reflects the trend that has taken place. The oldest generation, who were born before, during, or soon after the Civil War, were reared to accept dependence and submission as their role. Generally lacking in education, competence, and acculturation, they turn to the whites for assistance and advice. Their faith in "the best white people" has often proved well placed. More strongly than any other group of Negroes they share the white belief that Negroes are inferior. They have little confidence in their own race and are reluctant to praise Negroes who have risen above their place.

Although the oldest generation acknowledges white superiority, the next generation—those who are now middle-aged—do not believe that whites are actually superior but in dealing with them act as if they did. This group has grown up to have less dependence on the master class and less contact with them. Most of the middle-aged have had some education, at least of elementary school level, and their horizons have widened. They have heard about the ideal of democracy, have become identified with American institutions, and have acquired a measure of confidence

in their own powers and those of their race. "At the same time they have discerned more clearly the weaknesses of the white people. . . . Gradually and quietly they have come to the conclusion that there is not much difference between themselves and the white man, except for color; and in the case of mulattoes, not so much of that" (Powdermaker, *After Freedom*, p. 328).

Among the third generation—those in their teens, twenties, or thirties—resentment is keen and outspoken. They agree with the middle-aged in feeling that they are equal to the whites and in desiring equal treatment, but "they differ in not possessing or wanting to possess the tact and diplomacy of their elders." Their own solution is to avoid contact with white people whenever possible. This group is very race conscious, it believes that Negroes have been treated unfairly and suppressed economically, and it is more or less in open rebellion against the inferior status accorded to Negroes.

In the response of the Negro to his situation in the United States various patterns may be discerned, ranging from complete acceptance to direct hostility. William H. Hastie, the first Negro governor of the Virgin Islands, has said that the two extremes to be avoided by the Negro are surrender and bitterness. "Each of us has the problem of carrying neither his hat in his hand nor a chip on his shoulder" (Smith, "The First Negro Governor," p. 157). He further stated his belief that the surest staff, on the road to an optimistic and wholesome view of living, is the clear knowledge of how far the race has progressed over the long years. Many Negroes have not avoided either extreme though most have followed the middle course. Depending on the various factors mentioned above, they have reacted in different ways.

ACCEPTANCE

Practically all Negroes, and especially Southern Negroes, accept segregation. There is little they can do about it except protest and try to get the rules changed. The less sensitive lower class groups as a rule pay little attention to it or take it for granted. The upper classes accept it but resent it. In its extreme form, acceptance involves loss of moral integrity, as observed in the servile, fawning, submissive type of Negro, symbolized among colored people as "Uncle Tom." This term is used as a satirical condemnation of any Negro who is thought to be

currying favor with white people. Such a person is also known, mainly in the South, as a "white man's nigger." He submits to excessive subservience and even acts against the interests of his own group. To the white man he is a "good nigger," continuing the cherished tradition from slavery. The white is flattered by the extreme deference shown him, and he rewards it with condescending benevolence.

Without going to such extremes, many unsophisticated Negroes appear to accept willingly the inferior station assigned them and to have no faith in themselves or in the future. This type of Negro will not work as willingly for a Negro employer as for a white one or as a soldier have confidence in a Negro officer. He consults white doctors and lawyers rather than those of his own race and prefers to patronize white stores. He feels that Negroes are inferior to whites; he knows little about the achievement of Negroes and still less about their rights. He lacks incentive and has not learned the art or the value of cooperation.

Another type of Negro believing in white superiority responds to the situation by identifying himself with the master race. Just as the slaves identified themselves with the great families they served, so this type of Negro feels reflected glory by working for a white employer, particularly if the latter has great prestige. Some Negroes attempt to become identified physically with the whites or at least with mulattoes who approximate the physical characteristics of the dominant group. Such individuals lack race pride, feel an aversion for extreme Negroid characteristics, and try to make themselves as near white as possible by bleaching the skin, straightening the hair, and even attempting to alter the shape of lips and nose. Such efforts also reflect a feeling of insecurity and of frustration because of the economic restrictions imposed on grounds of race, for greater opportunities and advantages go to those with lighter skins.

RESENTMENT

The opposite type of reaction is exhibited by upper class Negroes. They deny that Negroes are inferior and demonstrate in their own behavior that Negroes can be educated, moral, industrious, and thrifty. Whereas the lower class feels least antagonistic toward the whites, the upper class feels most antagonistic. This is the reverse of the attitudinal situation among the

whites, where the aristocrats are the least and the poor whites the most hostile toward the other race. Powdermaker (*After Freedom*, p. 332) says that the shift of attitude as one moves from the lowest to the highest class among Negroes parallels in general the change in moving from the oldest to the youngest generation. This is partly a matter of education and cultural assimilation and partly of self-evaluation. The upper class Negro thinks more highly of himself and is the more wounded by being treated as if he were on a par with the lowest member of his group. He bitterly resents the Southern dictum that "a nigger is a nigger" no matter what his accomplishments or how closely he approximates the behavior traits and general standards of the larger society. In fact, he is the type of Negro whom the Southern whites most resent and suspect; and in addition to being more sensitive than his social inferiors, he is liable to meet more hostility.

Upper class Negroes resent segregation. "When they cannot change it," says Charles S. Johnson in his *Patterns of Negro Segregation* (p. 263), "they try to turn it to some advantage in a business or professional way. They may attempt to rationalize segregation as being in the interest of racial solidarity. Occasionally it is accepted and condoned as necessary because of the still uncontrolled behavior of lower class Negroes." Upper class Negroes are very sensitive about the behavior of the lower classes. Powdermaker (*After Freedom*, p. 357) reports:

Those at the top deplore the others' submission to white assumptions of superiority and their recalcitrance to white standards of behavior. They decry the loose morality and the ignorance by which, they feel, the lower class of Negro lends credence to unfair notions about the race. They are sensitive about, and ashamed of, the orgiastic behavior associated with Negro religion. They are pained by the Negro's reputation for wearing gaudy clothes. A few are sensitive about the insistence of some Negroes on having sound front teeth adorned with gold, when they cannot pay for dentistry needed on their back teeth. Varied as is the magnitude of these items and others like them, they all point to division of the group from within by differences in the rate at which its various sections are altering their culture.

Segregation is not resented by upper class Negroes as vigorously as are economic suppression and insults and the withholding of respect by whites. Economic restrictions are regarded as

grossly unfair and the denial of respect is a deep hurt to self-esteem. Negroes of education and social status find it impossible to become resigned to the slight and humiliation they constantly encounter in the South. For colored teachers to be introduced to white colleagues by their first names, for eminent members of the Negro community to be addressed so unceremoniously by grocery clerks and garage mechanics, or called "boy" or "girl," are distasteful incongruities that are bitterly resented. Powdermaker (*After Freedom*, pp. 343-344) reports that the matter of social title has taken on deep significance for the Negroes, in which are centered profound fears and strivings. She relates an instance where parents had their baby christened "Misjulia," thus insuring her title, and she reports the use of formal titles between intimates in the upper class as a symbol of status and as reflecting the intensity of their feelings on the subject. In her novel *Strange Fruit* (p. 340) Lillian Smith has one of her characters say: "It's hard for an educated colored man to live in the South. Like running into barbed wire everywhere you turn." Although the situation of the educated Negro is far better in the North, he still meets with slights and personal insults, and he is inclined to become oversensitive and cynical. The novelist Jessie Fauset, graduate of Cornell University and a member of Phi Beta Kappa, has described her reactions to a typical day's experience as follows:

I am a colored woman, neither white nor black, neither pretty nor ugly, neither specially graceful nor at all deformed. I am fairly well educated, of fair manners and deportment. In brief, the average American done over in brown. In the morning I go to work by means of the subway, which is crowded. Presently somebody gets up. The man standing in front of the vacant place looks around meaning to point it out to a woman. I am the nearest one. "But oh," says his glance, "you're colored. I'm not expected to give it to you." And down he plumps. According to my reflexes that morning, I think to myself "hypocrite" or "pig." And make a conscious effort to shake the unpleasantness of it off, for I don't want my day spoiled.

At noon I go for lunch. But I always go to the same place because I am not sure of my reception in other places. If I go to another place, I must fight it through. But usually I am hungry. I want food, not a lawsuit. And, too, how long am I to wait before I am sure of the slight? Shall I march up to the proprietor and say "Do you serve

colored people?" or shall I sit and drum on the table for 15 or 20 minutes, feel my anger rising, prepare to explode only to have the attendant come at that moment and nonchalantly arrange the table? I eat but I go out still not knowing whether the delay was intentional or not. The white person would be annoyed at the delay. I am, too, but ought I to be annoyed at something in addition to that? I can't tell. The uncertainty beclouds my afternoon.

I think the thing that irks us most is the teasing uncertainty of it all. Did the man at the box office give us the seat behind the post on purpose? Is the shopgirl impudent or merely nervous? Had the position really been filled before we applied for it? What actuates the teacher who tells Alice—oh, so kindly—that the college preparatory course is really very difficult. Even remarkably clever girls have been known to fail. Now if she were Alice—

Other things cut deeper, undermine the very roots of our belief in mankind. In school we sing "America," we learn the Declaration of Independence, we read and even memorize some of the passages in the Constitution. Chivalry, kindness, consideration are the ideals held up before us.

"Honor and faith and good intent,
But it wasn't at all what the lady meant."

The lady in this case being the white world. The good things of life, the true, the beautiful, the just, these are not meant for us.

So much is this difference impressed on us, "this for you but that quite other thing for me," that finally we come to take all expressions of a white man's justice with a cynical disbelief, our standard of measure being a provident "How does he stand on the color question?"

AVOIDANCE

Charles S. Johnson (*Patterns of Negro Segregation*, p. 267) says:

The most common type of response to the personal implications of the race system is that of *avoidance*. Although this is most conspicuous in the efforts of upper class groups to preserve self-esteem, it is a fairly common phenomenon among all classes and varies in degree with the situation and with the motivations involved. There is manifest in this behavior not only a precautionary effort to avoid certain types of racial contact but an attempt to avoid conforming to the patterns of expected behavior.

Learning to avoid certain types of racial contact is part of the training of all Negro children. It is the same as learning that they

are Negroes and that a special and inferior place is assigned to them in a white-dominated society. Just when a child becomes aware of the relations between the two races and the role he is supposed to play as a member of the subordinate group depends upon the social situation of the family, the attitude of his parents, and fortuitous circumstances. Usually he is aware of this aspect of his culture by the time he first goes to school. In states with a separate school system, the child is bound to be impressed by the obvious fact that white children go to one school while he goes to another. He usually has played freely with white children up to that time, and this may continue for a while, but between the ages of 10 and 15 Negro children tend to withdraw from all contact with whites. By the time of adolescence the separation is complete so far as social relations are concerned. At this period boys and girls begin to have dates, to dance, have parties, and form friendships that may later lead to marriage. Not only are the youth themselves made keenly aware of race differences and their social implications, but colored as well as white parents insist that social relations come to an end. A. L. Holsey (p. 424) has described how he "learned how to be black":

At fifteen, I was fully conscious of the racial difference, and while I was sullen and resentful in my soul, I was beaten and knew it. I knew then that I could never aspire to be President of the United States, nor governor of my state, nor mayor of my city; I knew that the front doors of white homes in my town were not for me to enter, except as a servant; I knew that I could only sit in the peanut gallery at our theater and could only ride on the back seat of the electric car and in the Jim Crow car on the train. I had bumped into the color line and knew that so far as white people were concerned, I was just another nigger.

Avoidance of contact with whites outside of economic and impersonal or public relations is one of the ways whereby the more sensitive Negro spares himself hurts and the less sensitive avoid getting into trouble. Even in civil-rights states Negroes avoid going to restaurants, hotels, and places of amusement where they feel that they would not be welcome. Avoidance is thus a protective device, a way of adjusting to the situation with the least pain and uneasiness. It may be carried to the point of almost complete voluntary segregation. Mozell C. Hill (pp. 519-520)

reports of some all-Negro communities in Oklahoma that there is a positive feeling and consensus that their welfare is best served by shunning social relations with whites. Moreover, most of the residents hold to the very minimum the necessary relations with members of the nearby all-white towns.

The other type of avoidance that Johnson mentions—that of not conforming to the patterns of expected behavior—represents an attempt on the part of certain Negroes to escape from the stereotype that so many whites have of Negroes. Standing in the glare of Caucasian ridicule, the Negro has become sensitive, secretive, and full of inhibitions. Such individuals avoid eating chickens, chitlings, and watèrmelon, or wearing bright colors, or otherwise behaving in “typical Negro” fashion. They do not take pride in the favorable aspects of the stereotype such as the attributed qualities of loyalty, patience, and happy disposition or the “dear old Mammy” tradition. Also, some Negroes avoid association with other Negroes for various reasons. Sometimes it is a case of mulattoes avoiding association with blacks in order to differentiate themselves from the masses and their pattern of behavior. Sometimes it is for the purpose of avoiding every appearance of segregation. A Negro so motivated, says DuBois (*Dusk of Dawn*, pp. 186–187), will not sit in a streetcar beside a Negro; he will not frequent a Negro church; he will join few, if any, Negro organizations.

On the other hand, he will take every opportunity to join in the political and cultural life of the whites. But he pays for this and pays dearly. He so often meets actual insult or more or less veiled rebuffs from the whites that he becomes nervous and truculent through expectation of dislike even when its manifestation does not always appear. And on the other hand, Negroes more or less withdraw from associating with him. They suspect that he is “ashamed of his race.”

Another sort of Negro will cultivate his race, join Negro organizations, pride himself on living with “his people,” and withdraw from contact with whites as far as possible.

He too pays. His cultural contacts sink of necessity to a lower level. He becomes provincial in his outlook. He attributes to whites a dislike and hatred and racial prejudice of which many of them are quite unconscious and guiltless. Between these two extremes range all sorts

of interracial patterns, and all of them theoretically follow the idea that Negroes must only submit to segregation "when forced."

OVERCOMPENSATION

Many of the personality traits of the American Negro are to be explained through the deep frustrations which he suffers and the oppressive implications of the doctrine of racial inferiority. For example, emotionalism in the Negro church, the excessive absorption in the pursuit of pleasure, the clowning and the laughter may be regarded as escapes from the galling realities of his subordinate status. Likewise, his ostentatious behavior and exaggerated sense of self appear as reactions against his implied inferiority. Some Negroes find compensation by feeling superior to whites because they fool them in never letting the whites know their real thoughts. Others have a feeling of moral superiority. The Negro, they say, is guiltless with regard to the racial situation and deeply wronged whereas the white man's actions run counter to the teachings of democracy and Christianity. Also, the Negro has scorn for what he considers white hypocrisy, and this makes him feel all the more in the right.

Some Negroes attempt to draw attention to themselves and to display their status. A Negro suffering from an inferiority complex will commit the wildest extravagances in wearing exaggerated clothing, driving high-priced automobiles, or gaudily furnishing his home. This is a well-known psychological phenomenon as a means of achieving distinction and recognition denied in other fields. Other ways in which status is displayed include "being seen" at exclusive places, having long fingernails (which takes one out of the manual-laboring class), joining clubs, counting prominent persons as friends, and indulging in mutual flattery. As Cantril (p. 46) points out, "an individual is constantly trying to maintain or enhance his own feeling of self-regard." The Negro feels a special need of ego enhancement. This is met in numerous ways, of which the following are illustrations. The advertiser in a Negro newspaper is fond of introducing his photograph, the picture often taking more space than the advertising matter. The society page reveals a love of positions of social prominence and of membership in clubs or on committees of high-sounding and mysterious titles. Some typical club names

are The De La Marge Club, The Bon Twig Girls, The Blue Heaven Co-ed Social Club, Original Sophisticated Eight, Midnight Twelve, Sophisticated Duchesses, Twentieth Century Cavaliers, Les Jolies Jeune Filles, Las Amigas Señoras. The titles of lodges are especially high sounding (as are those of white organizations), for example, The Grand United Order of Galilean Fishermen; Grand Fountain of Grand United Order of True Reformers; Grand United Order of Brothers and Sisters, Sons and Daughters of Moses; The Grand Court of the Independent Order of Calanthe, under the Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court Annexed to the Supreme Lodge Knights of Pythias, Colored, of North America, South America, Europe, Asia and Africa. Similar grandiloquence appears in the names of business and other organizations, for example, Lily of the Valley Pressing Club, Grand Empire Lunch Stand, The Brotherly Love Continue Undertakers and Sons of America, Cooperative Too Utter Utterly Utter Marriage Aid Association of Mississippi.

The same motivation is observable in the love of certain Negroes for big words and elegant speech whether or not the usage is correct. A drama critic writes: "Isabell Washington, irresistible in her charm, beauty and intrepidity, is rapturously intrinsic in every motive." Frequently, the unsophisticated Negro imitates the sound only, the word being stripped of its ideational setting, with the most incongruous results. For example, terms of salutation like the following may be used: "How does you sagashiate today?" "How does yer wife appromulgate dis mawnin'?" One colored woman asked another: "Sally, was you ever X-rayed?" "No," was the reply, "but I was ultraviolated." Puckett (*Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro*, p. 30) reports a folk belief of the Southern Negroes that a man must use fine language to court a girl successfully. Regular formulas exist for this purpose, such as the following: "Miss Letty, I come fo' to cou't you, but I 'fraid fo' to ventu', pervidin' if you have any dejection, ma'am. I come wid a few current tickles an' a few current tags to mix my seed wid your generation, pervidin' if you have any dejection, ma'am."

Ego enhancement is also a factor in the fanciful and elaborate names adopted by many Negroes and especially the names given to children. In one colored family the four children are named Vanilla, Aquila, Anthelotha, and Tecumsehcti (the "tci" stand-

ing for Tennessee Coal and Iron Co.). Two little colored girls have the names Lily White and Primitive. Sometimes there is much rhythm, as in the following name of a girl in Louisville, Kentucky: Mary Maria Louisa Trapeza Tennessee Terapo Buckingham White. Examples of other long names are: Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad Harry Stringfellow Johnson; Matthew Mark Luke John Acts-of-the-Apostles Son-of-Zebedee Garden-of-Gethsemane Hill; and Patron Percival Morris Alexander Watkins. Sets of names are frequently used, such as those of the Jackson children: Tonsillitis, Meningitis, and Appendicitis, called respectively, for short, Tonsie, Menny, and Pendency; or those of the Nichols children: Million, Billion, and Trillion, with the shortened form of Milly, Billy, and Trilly. Or consider the Watkins twins, Avery and Ivory; the Daniels twins, Iodus and Pheodus; the Green twins, Bloom and Blossom; the Moody twins, Peruna and Chlorine. One colored woman called her little girl Morfy, short for Morphine, and explained the choice by saying that morphine came from wild poppy, and if any child ever had a wild poppy, her little girl did. The following are examples of fanciful names to be found mainly in the rural South.

Iodine Williams	Artificial Flowers
Vaseline Johnson	Quo Vadis
Sunday Morning Johnson	Lights Savoy
Abolena Sweat	Nutter Nutter
Boston Green	Jeremiah Prophet
You Doll Perkins	Noah's Ark
Sister Patience Peace	Triumphant Virgin
Pussywillow Pillowtop	Pearly Gates
Adonis Brown	Mammy Asia

Such nomenclature is characteristic of any untutored group. A comparable list of striking or ludicrous combinations of Christian names and surnames among whites that appeared on the schedules of the first census may be found in the U.S. Bureau of the Census publication *A Century of Population Growth*. The Negro names appear, if anything, more colorful and imaginative than the white.

RACE PRIDE

Race consciousness on the part of minorities, as a reaction to majority persecution and disparagement, is a well-known phe-

nomenon. Frequently, it first appears as self-pity and race-depreciation and later is transformed into positive racialist pride and self-assertion. "In certain versions," write Locke and Stern (pp. 529-530), "it has been an echo or imitation of the majority attitudes, expressed in countersymbols and reversed claims, but motivated by the same rationalizations. . . . Historically, almost every large-scale majority racialism has had a minority group analogue" as, for example, Zionism is a reaction to anti-Semitism. Except for the "Back to Africa" movement led by Marcus Garvey—a peculiar form of Black Zionism—race consciousness among American Negroes has not developed into nationalism or a counterdoctrine of racialism. Rather has it taken the form of the development of race pride as a defensive reaction. Also it has appeared quite recently in the history of the Negro in the United States.

As Drake and Cayton (pp. 390-391) have so well expressed it:

Negroes feel impelled to prove to themselves continually that they are not the inferior creatures which their minority status implies. Thus, ever since emancipation, Negro leaders have preached the necessity for cultivating "race pride." They have assiduously repeated the half-truth that "no other race has ever made the progress that Negroes have made in an equivalent length of time." They have patiently attempted to popularize an expanding roster of Race Heroes—individuals who have attained success or prominence. "Catching up with the white folks" has been developed as the dominating theme of inspirational exhortations, and the Negro "firsts" and "onlies" are set up as Race Heroes. "Beating the white man at his own game" becomes a powerful motivation for achievement and explains the popularity of such personalities as Joe Louis and Jesse Owens, George Washington Carver, or outstanding soldier-heroes. A myth of "special gifts" has also emerged, with Negroes (and whites also) believing that American Negroes have some inborn, unusual talent as dancers, musicians, artists, and athletes. . . . Unable to compete freely *as individuals*, the Negro masses take intense vicarious pleasure in watching Race Heroes vindicate them in the eyes of the world.

Race pride is more pronounced among youth than among the older generations, in the North than in the South, among those with advanced education than those with little education, and in cities than in rural areas. In the period between the two world wars the emphasis upon race pride became a mass phenomenon

among the Negroes in large urban communities. This was symbolized in the New Negro, who was shaking off the psychology of imitation and implied inferiority and achieving something like a spiritual emancipation. The movement has found expression in numerous ways, such as an increasing awareness of the achievements of individual Negroes, support of Negro business enterprises, development of race leadership in the fight for Negro rights, the focusing of economic and political power, the development of morale, the attempt to reconstruct the Negro past, and the glorification of the folk cultural contributions of the Negro.

A symbol of this new spirit, which carries strong emotional content to Negroes, is that of names. The Negroes have been carrying on a double campaign—first, against the use of *nigger* and, secondly, for the capitalization of *Negro*. The term “nigger,” like the term “darky,” when used by whites is deeply resented. Powdermaker (*After Freedom*, p. 47) says of the Southern Negro: “A colored person may call another ‘nigger’ in either affection or anger, and the emotion connected with the term may be small or great. The term does not usually call forth resentment when used by a Negro as it always does when used by a white.” Promoters of race pride are trying to stop its use even among Negroes. Many white people who desire to be considerate are in doubt about the term most acceptable to Negroes; and the Negroes themselves are not agreed upon the matter of racial designation, some advocating “Aframericans,” others “Negroes” or “American Negroes” or “colored.” There are puzzling subtle distinctions, to which Negroes are more or less sensitive. The adjective “colored” and the generic designations “Negroes,” “the Negro,” and “the Negro race” appear to be acceptable, but “a Negro man” or “a Negro woman” is somewhat distasteful to them, and “Negress” is considered unpardonable. The strong antipathy to “Negress” probably goes back to the fact that in times of slavery this was the term applied to a woman slave at an auction, in contradistinction to “buck” which referred to a male slave.

With reference to the capitalization of *Negro*, Kelly Miller (p. 146) has written: “When the race had the status of a chattel, it was perfectly normal to expect it would be designated with a small letter, along with horses, cattle and other items of material possessions, but when the race was clothed with the dignity and

privilege of American citizenship, it claims the typographical recognition accorded to all other race varieties of our complex population." As a matter of fact, according to anthropological usage, Negro is a proper noun since it is the name of a particular group of African natives from whom most of the slaves transported to America were derived. American Negroes, led by the N.A.A.C.P., have long been advocating the capitalization of the word in all publications. Most of the principal magazines and many leading newspapers, in the South as well as in the North, have adopted this form. When the powerful *New York Times* made the change, it stated in an editorial (Mar. 7, 1930): "In our 'style book' 'Negro' is now added to the list of words to be capitalized. It is not merely a typographical change; it is an act in recognition of racial self-respect for those who have been for generations in 'the lower case.'"

HOSTILITY AND AGGRESSION

Some Negroes react to the frustrating experiences of discrimination, segregation, and subordination by feelings of hostility to whites, which may be expressed openly and directly or covertly and indirectly. Overt expression of hostility or direct aggression against whites is uncommon. Sometimes it takes the form of unleashing a torrent of invectives and blows when a Negro is shoved by a white person or otherwise treated in a way regarded as disdainful of his rights. More typically it is represented by the so-called "bad niggers" who act in defiance of the law. The more aggressive upper class Negroes may overtly express hostility in situations which they are unable to avoid by reasonable means. Generally, however, Negroes of all classes are aware that they expose themselves to violent reprisals and try to avoid direct conflicts. Most Negroes, and especially most Southern Negroes, will fight only when the provocation is extreme; they learned at an early age that fighting with whites is dangerous. When they exhibit aggression, it is usually of the defensive type, as seen, for example, in protecting one's self when attacked or fighting back in a race riot. Such occurrences may give a vicarious satisfaction to Negroes who were not involved. A similar reaction appears in cases of Negro superiority in athletic contests. Charles S. Johnson states in *Growing Up in the Black Belt* (p. 246):

Admiration of the prowess of Negro athletes in the prize ring, indeed, provides other incidental and vicarious satisfactions [to those of race pride]. These youth, who cannot resent insults or pit their strength fairly with that of white youth or resist malicious aggression without incurring the danger of wholesale reprisals from the white community are more than normally thrilled and vindicated when the special racial handicap is removed and a Negro reveals his superior physical quality. In a few areas of the South, the disposition of Negro youth to celebrate too jubilantly the fistic triumphs of Joe Louis has been brusquely and sometimes violently discouraged, indicating that the symbolism was as significant for the white as for Negro youth.

For the most part the hostility that Negroes feel is expressed covertly, and aggression is indirect or deflected toward other than white objects. It may take the form of self-hate and violence of Negroes toward each other. Richard Wright says in his autobiography (p. 221): "I had seen many Negroes solve the problem of being black by transferring their hatred of themselves to others with a black skin and fighting them." Dollard (p. 214) attributes much of the violence to be found in Negro communities to the fact that, since they cannot hurt the larger white world, they take it out on each other. Reid (p. 217) accounts for some of the hostility with which American Negroes have responded to Negro immigrants from the West Indies as an expression of repressed minority resentment deflected upon another colored minority.

A common way of expressing hostility covertly is by "taking it out in talk." Condemning white people and blaming them for their troubles is frequent when Negroes converse, discuss, or argue among themselves. Among lower class Negroes hostility may be expressed by petty sabotage, quitting jobs without notice, unfavorable gossip, pseudo-ignorant malingering. Middle class Negroes are in a better position to use the economic weapon of controlled purchasing power. Upper class Negroes use both this and the method of indirect attack on the offending institutions by arousing outside public opinion. In the South Negroes may use influential whites to punish lower class whites for annoying them; in the North Negroes may use their political power against white offenders.

PROTEST LEADERS AND MOVEMENTS

The American Negro has always protested and resisted his status, and he has had a series of aggressive leaders—"race men" in modern Negro terminology—who have organized the discontent and fought against attempts to subordinate Negroes. Under slavery the most aggressive resistance took the form of insurrections, led by Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, Gabriel Prosser, and numerous others less well known. A second type of protest leader was represented by the Negro fighters in the abolitionist movement in the North. Among the more prominent were Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, Samuel E. Cornish, and Harriet Tubman. Unlike the slave insurgents these leaders set the future pattern on which Negroes have based their protest—that of nonviolent but aggressive action within the law and in accord with American democratic principles.

The next important crop of Negro protest leaders appeared at the turn of the century. They led a movement in opposition to Booker T. Washington's doctrine of industrial education, conciliation, and compromise. They declared that the teachings of Washington were destructive of the guaranteed rights and privileges of the Negroes, especially in the North, and they pledged themselves to exert every effort to combat what they regarded as his political and social heresies. These leaders were all Northern, mulatto, and college graduates. The original head of this movement was William M. Trotter (Harvard, B.A. 1895, M.A. 1896), an irreconcilable militant reformer. With George Forbes (Amherst, 1895) he began in 1901 the publication of the *Boston Guardian* as a journal of protest. He gathered about him a group of Negro radicals, all opponents of Washington. Of these the ablest and most scholarly was W. E. B. DuBois (Harvard, B.A. 1890, M.A. 1891, Ph.D. 1895), who soon became the leader. DuBois was not temperamentally a rabid reformer. His highest service, Kelly Miller (*Race Adjustment*, p. 12) thought, consisted in "interpreting to the white people the needs and feeling of his race in terms of exact knowledge and nice language rather than as an agitator or promoter of concrete achievement." James Weldon Johnson (p. 203) believed that DuBois's *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) "has had a greater effect upon and within the Negro race in America than any other single book published in this country since *Uncle*

Tom's Cabin." As related in that volume, DuBois disagreed with Booker T. Washington, then the greatest Negro figure in America, on the matters of higher education of Negroes and the Negro's position on political and civil rights. DuBois believed in the higher education of a Talented Tenth, the need of the Negro to gain political power in order to improve his status, and the immediate demand for his civil rights. In a later book, *Dusk of Dawn* (pp. 73-80), he also stressed his resentment of what he called the "Tuskegee Machine"—the tremendous power, so far as Negro welfare was concerned, wielded by Booker T. Washington, head of Tuskegee Institute, who was regarded by whites as official spokesman for colored America. DuBois also thought that Washington's attitude seemed to place the onus of blame for the status of Negroes upon the Negroes themselves rather than upon the whites where DuBois believed it belonged. He was in favor of open agitation against wrongs.

To that end he issued a call to all Negroes who shared his views to meet in secret at Niagara Falls in August of 1905. An address was issued to the country setting forth in pointed terms the rights of the colored race and protesting against discrimination. The Niagara Movement was organized Jan. 31, 1906, and incorporated in the District of Columbia. Its objects were to promote various principles including "manhood suffrage," "the abolition of all caste distinctions based simply on race and color," and "the recognition of the highest and best human training as the monopoly of no class or race." In 1906 the group met openly at Harper's Ferry and issued a second manifesto in stronger language than before. In 1907 it met in Boston and in 1908 in Oberlin, but it was already suffering internal strain from Trotter's dynamic personality and DuBois's organizational inexperience. Finally, it practically became merged with a new organization established by a group of liberal whites, some of them descendants of abolitionists, in 1909—the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Without formal merger the N.A.A.C.P. absorbed the membership of the Niagara Movement, save Trotter who distrusted the white allies and their objectives and founded his own short-lived Equal Rights League. He committed suicide in 1934. DuBois became an executive of the N.A.A.C.P. and editor of its crusading monthly *The Crisis*. In 1934 he broke with the organization over the issue of segregation when he said that segregation

promises to exist for a long time and Negroes should make the most of it by building up a Negro economy and a separate institutional life. In 1944, at the age of 76, he rejoined the N.A.A.C.P. staff as director of special research to prepare material for the peace conference in behalf of the peoples of Africa and other colored groups and also to promote knowledge of race and cultural relations. Among his other activities DuBois took the lead in the attempt to organize the Negro peoples of the world. He summoned the first Pan-African Congress, which met in Paris in 1919. A second Congress met in London, Brussels, and Paris in 1921; the third in London and Lisbon in 1923; and the fourth in New York in 1927. Under his editorial supervision, the N.A.A.C.P. prepared and submitted to the United Nations in 1947 a document, *An Appeal to the World*, asking for redress against the denial of Negro rights in the United States. This petition was denied. At the end of 1948 DuBois was dismissed, following his criticism of the acceptance by Walter White, secretary of the association, of a post as consultant to the United States delegation to the United Nations.

In addition to the N.A.A.C.P., which is the largest and most important organization agitating for Negro rights, there are other organized protest movements. The National Negro Congress, headed by Dr. Max Yergan, is much farther to the left than the N.A.A.C.P. It was founded in 1936, being dedicated to securing full citizenship rights for Negroes. It is organized in local councils, of which it claimed in 1940 to have 3,000, and operates by direct pressure methods. Originally started as a federation of Negro organizations of various types to give strength and unity to their appeals and awaken a larger response from the Negro masses, it fell into Communist hands in 1940 and has since lost its support from the other Negro organizations and sunk to unimportance. Of a different order is the March on Washington Movement, led by A. Philip Randolph, one of the most competent of Negro organizers. Created in 1941, as was noted in an earlier chapter, to voice Negro protest in the war emergency, it was responsible for securing the establishment of the Federal Committee on Fair Employment Practice. It has since remained a popular organization in many parts of the country, with the backing of the major Negro organizations. Its chief way of reaching the people is through mass meetings, its chief weapon, mass pressure. It under-

takes to lead Negroes in utilizing their constitutional rights, en masse and without violence, to secure liberation from Jim Crow laws and discriminatory practices.

Out of the bitterness and frustration following the First World War arose the most remarkable mass movement in the history of the American Negroes—the “Back to Africa” movement led by Marcus Garvey, a full-blooded Negro from the West Indies who came to the United States in 1918 and soon thereafter organized his Universal Negro Improvement Association. The movement can best be described as Black Nationalism or as a form of Black Zionism. Garvey stirred the imagination of the Negro masses as no Negro ever had, and he raised more money in a few years than any other Negro organization had ever dreamed of. With headquarters in New York, local branches in other sections, and numerous subsidiary organizations, including a paper called the *Negro World*, the movement attained national proportions. At least 500,000 American Negroes, perhaps a million, some say several million, were once dues-paying members.

Garvey renounced all hopes of assistance or understanding from whites and urged the Negroes to assert themselves. Their only hope was to flee this country of oppression and return to Africa. Not only did he advocate that sharp racial lines be drawn between whites and blacks, but he also insisted upon divisions between blacks and mulattoes. Coming from the West Indies where, as we have seen, mulattoes constitute a separate caste superior to the blacks, he assumed that the situation in the United States was comparable. This was one of his greatest blunders, for he antagonized the very group that provided most of the leadership and controlled most of the organizations in Negro America. He appealed to the common Negroes, the darker ones, and mainly those of the lower or the lower middle class, and aroused color consciousness and race loyalty. He planned to transport several million American Negroes “back home” to redeem Africa from white imperialists and to establish commercial relations between the motherland and the Negroes remaining in America and the West Indies. To that end he established the Black Star Line of steamships.

The central thought of the Garvey movement was as much “Africa for the Africans” as “Back to Africa.” At a convention held in New York in 1920 plans were made for an African Repub-

lic, and Garvey was elected Provisional President. A national African flag was adopted, also a national anthem. The Negroes were to live under their own leadership and develop their own culture. Garvey exalted everything black. Black stood for strength and beauty, not inferiority. He declared that Christ was black and certainly Moses was. He preached purity of race and condemned amalgamation. He repudiated orthodox Christianity because it was the white man's religion and started a new version with its own catechism and its own bible—*The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey*. He also denounced the word "Negro" as a derogatory term given by whites and substituted "African" or "Ethiopian."

The Garvey movement was based on good psychology. It made the downtrodden lower class Negroes feel like somebody among white people who said they were nobody. It gave the crowd an opportunity to show off in colors, parades, and self-glorification. The women were organized into the Black Cross Nurses and the men into the Universal African Legion. The humblest follower was one of the "fellowmen of the Negro Race," and the most distinguished supporters were Knights of the Nile, Knights of the Distinguished Service Order of Ethiopia, and Dukes of the Niger and of Uganda. Frazier said (p. 347),

A uniformed member of a Negro lodge paled in significance beside a soldier of the Army of Africa. A Negro might be a porter during the day, taking his orders from white men, but he was an officer in the Black Army when it assembled at night in Liberty Hall. Many a Negro went about his work singing in his heart that he was a member of the great army marching to "heights of achievements."

The movement reached its peak in 1920-1921 and then began to decline. Negro leaders and the Negro press opposed Garvey; mass meetings led by A. Philip Randolph and William Pickens denounced him; the Republic of Liberia, which was to be the landing place of the first Back to Africa expedition, announced that it would bar any followers of the movement; the United States government indicted Garvey for using the mails to defraud in connection with the sale of stock in the Black Star Line. After a long legal contest he was finally sentenced to Atlanta Penitentiary in 1925. Two years later he was released and deported as an undesirable alien to the West Indies. From Jamaica he tried

for a while to continue his agitation but without success. In 1940 he died in London, poor and forgotten.

As a Negro chauvinistic movement with political implications, the Universal Negro Improvement Association was doomed to failure, for it could not gain white support. As a movement in the development of race consciousness and race pride, however, it had enduring significance. It set in motion what was to become the most compelling force in Negro life. Drake and Cayton (p. 752) remark: "Garvey didn't get many Negroes back to Africa, but he helped to destroy their inferiority complex and made them conscious of their power." He demonstrated that it is possible to reach the Negro masses if they are appealed to in an effective way. The response testified forcibly to the basic unrest in the Negro community.

The dissatisfaction of the American Negro with his lot has been mounting since the First World War, and he has become increasingly articulate in giving voice to his complaints and insisting upon his rights. His self-consciousness, his realization of his anomalous position, and his sense of power have all been accentuated by the war experience. Twice in one generation the American Negro has taken part in world wars presented as crusades for democracy while he has occupied a position of second-class citizenship. For him this is a bitter and irreconcilable paradox, and he intends to do something about it. The mass character of this dissatisfaction is evident, as may be seen in events such as the following which occurred during the two wars: in July, 1917, some 5,000 Negro soldiers with muffled drums and banners setting forth their wrongs marched impressively down Fifth Avenue, New York, in a silent parade; in June, 1942, some 20,000 Negroes attended a rally in Madison Square Garden as a mass demonstration against Jim Crowism. Negro leaders and the Negro press are giving expression to this mass feeling, organizing it into a set of formal demands, and directing it in a program of action. There have been many statements of the Negro's demands. The latest and most comprehensive is the volume *What the Negro Wants*, edited by Rayford W. Logan. The contributors include a wide range of Negro leaders from various fields and of various types of political persuasion. Their declarations all boil down to this: what the Negro wants is first-class American citizenship without any reservations. He wants nothing not compatible with democracy and the Consti-

tution. On the contrary, his demand is that he share equally in American democracy under the Constitution and participate fully in American life.

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CHAPTER 21

THE FUTURE OF THE NEGRO

PROPOSALS AND COMPARISONS OF RACE POLICY

It is common to speak of the problem of Negro-white relations as insoluble, or at least insoluble under present political and social conditions. So far as any immediate or complete solution is concerned, this is undoubtedly true. But the same may be said of any major social problem, such as making a living, maintaining health, rearing children, gaining security, or getting along with people. They are never solved and removed but call for continuous adjustment under changing conditions. All social life is a constant facing of problems, and civilization is a measure of man's adjustment. At any given time and under the conditions obtaining, much can be done, largely through the aid of science, to improve the situation and to secure more satisfactory adjustment. Still more important, from the long-range standpoint, is the operation of impersonal forces, like increasing urbanization or advancing education, which change the basic situation and bring a series of adjustments in their train. These constitute trends and point the way toward major types of adjustment. They may become a matter of policy and be furthered by appropriate action. For example, if it is the policy of a nation to keep a minority group in subordination, the latter should never be given education. If it is the policy to promote assimilation, all barriers to cultural contacts and intermarriage should be removed. The policy, to be effective, must be in line with the basic trends; otherwise, it merely produces more conflict and strain. If, for example, there is a basic trend toward raising the educational level, it cannot successfully be accompanied by a policy of restricting occupational opportunities.

The presence of a different racial or ethnic group within a nation may be likened to a foreign substance in the body. The problem may be met by destruction, by removal or expulsion, by segregation that is hostile or without regard to the alien element's

own ends or desires, by segregation that is amicable or to the good of both parties, or by absorption. At various times and places throughout human history all these measures have been used or attempted with reference to one or another alien group. For example, following the discoveries period Europeans exterminated many native tribes in the Americas, in Africa, and in Oceania; more recently Turkey tried to slaughter all its Armenians, and Germany under the Nazis systematically undertook to destroy all the Jews in Europe. Forced migrations have occurred frequently, such as the expulsion of the Jews from various European countries during the Middle Ages, of the Moors from Spain and the Huguenots from France, or the exportation of slaves from Africa or the transportation of criminals to penal colonies. Segregation, either hostile or friendly, is a common practice of dominant whites, especially English-speaking, toward colored minorities, as observed in North America, South Africa, and Asia. Finally, absorption or assimilation is illustrated in the case of white minorities in all white immigrant-receiving countries and in the case of colored minorities in some Mediterranean and Latin American countries. With reference to the Negroes, all these "solutions" have in some degree or other been proposed or adopted as a matter of policy.

THE LATIN AMERICAN POLICY OF COMPLETE EQUALITY

Under Spanish and Portuguese influence, race relations have taken a radically different form in Latin America from that found in the United States. The policy is that of eventual absorption or integration, and it is significant that there is no legal barrier to racial intermarriage. The policy of no color line is embedded deep in the traditions of Latin American countries.

In the West Indies, as was previously noted, the class structure tends to coincide with the three main color divisions. The whites possess the greatest wealth and occupy the highest positions; the mulattoes, called "colored," monopolize the professions, dominate the municipal councils and the Houses of Assembly, fill the lower ranks of the civil service, and are making their way into the higher positions; the blacks are mainly skilled and unskilled laborers, schoolteachers, druggists, and the rank and file of the police force. The blacks constitute about 40 per cent of the total population, and the colored about 20 per cent. The nonwhite immigrant groups, mainly Chinese and East Indians, are engaged

in petty business. There is some prejudice in the islands, but it is social, not legal, and operates indirectly; there is no bar to racial intermarriage. The different races and colors exist side by side without the antagonism and friction which characterize race relations in the United States. Eric Williams ("Crossways of the Caribbean," p. 512) states:

White, black, brown, and yellow eat in the same restaurants, worship in the same churches, go to the same schools, ride to work on the same public conveyances where no special seats are designated for different races. They work in the same rooms in the same offices, are buried side by side in the cemeteries. There is no Harlem, no ghetto, no Chinatown.

Of the South American countries, an outstanding example of complete racial equality is afforded by Brazil with a population of forty-odd million, 14 per cent Negro and 20 per cent mulatto. Brazil has no legal segregation of Negroes, no Jim Crow cars, and no disfranchisement. She has never had a lynching; and at no time in her history has she had laws prohibiting the intermarriage of whites and blacks. The Negroes in Brazil have never considered themselves as an inferior minority group. There are no restrictions whatsoever of a caste nature and no limitations along racial lines. Negroes and mulattoes are integral elements of the national life and have the same legal status and opportunities. They are free to rise or fall in accordance with their capabilities. Some have risen to presidents of the republic. This tradition in the treatment of races is a matter of pride in Brazil.

The tradition dates back to the days of slavery, as was mentioned in the first chapter. Negro slaves had many of the rights of free men and frequently purchased their freedom. There was no Black Code. All were baptized by law, and intermarriage early became an established custom sanctioned by both Church and State. Mulatto offspring of illicit unions between plantation owners and their female slaves were in many cases legitimized and raised as scions of the house, succeeding to their father's property, receiving advanced education, and entering into the public life of the colony. Slavery was characterized by intimate, personal relations between master and slave which tended to humanize the institution and make for democracy and mutual understanding between the two groups. The transition to freedom was gradual

and peaceful, and no limitations were placed on the former slaves.

Such prejudice as exists in Brazil is class, not race, prejudice even though class differentiation is related to color differences. The blacks and the darker mixed bloods ordinarily occupy the lower economic levels, the medium and light mulattoes the middle position, and the whites the upper stratum. This is explained by the fact that the blacks are mainly the descendants of propertyless slaves and have not been free as long as the mixed bloods, nor have they had the same educational opportunities. Though the majority of the blacks are in the lower occupations, some may be found in the professions and in responsible official positions. The important point is that it is a freely competitive order. Donald Pierson (pp. 204-205) remarks:

Individual competence overbalances racial descent in the final determination of status. Color is undoubtedly a handicap. But it always tends to be discounted if the individual in question possesses other characteristics of upper class identity, such as professional competence, intellectual ability, educational achievement, wealth, an engaging manner, personal charm, poise, breeding, and, especially with the females, beauty. All these are characteristics which define status in a society based upon class rather than upon caste distinctions.

The racial philosophy of Brazil has been to absorb not only the Negroes but all diverse ethnic elements, such as the Indians and white and colored immigrants. The race problem in Brazil, insofar as there is a race problem, is determined by the resistance which an ethnic group offers, or is thought to offer, to absorption. Thus the Japanese have presented some difficulty on this score as have the Germans who, in addition, exhibit color prejudice. Brazilians say there is no Negro problem because the Negroes are being amalgamated and assimilated. Inter-marriage is common, and miscegenation has now proceeded to the point where it can be predicted that the Negro will be completely absorbed within a reasonable period of time. To Brazilians of all classes the eventual absorption of every ethnic unit is a matter in which they derive much pride and satisfaction.

RACE EQUALITY IN HAWAII

In sharp contrast to the racial doctrines of continental United States are those of Hawaiian Territory. Though the whites are

the dominant group, there is no color line and no racial restrictions. It is possible for men of superior character and ability to attain to positions of power and dignity without limitation as to race. Personal status depends more on personal merit and less on racial antecedents. In Hawaii there are no laws prohibiting racial intermarriage, and much intermixture has taken place between the various ethnic groups: native Hawaiians, Caucasians, Japanese, Chinese, Koreans, Filipinos, and a few Negroes, Mexicans, and others. Race conflict and race prejudice are practically nonexistent; in particular there is no color line against Negroes. How the Hawaiian code of racial equality operates has been described by Romanzo Adams (pp. 145-146, 148) as follows:

When a traveler familiar with race doctrines and practices in other places visits Hawaii, he is impressed with the apparent absence of what is commonly called race prejudice. One man said, "Humanly speaking, you have no race prejudice in Hawaii." The things observed relate largely to ritual. A man of any race is addressed as "Mister" in Hawaii. A man from Texas saw and heard a Negro in the legislature—a Negro treated with respect and as an equal—and he went away in disgust. If our visitor has traveled in China, he knows that the Chinese are not admitted as guests to Shanghai hotels intended for whites. But in Honolulu a Chinese man or a man of any other race may be entertained in any hotel, and white men may sit at the table with him. In cities of the United States, Negroes occupy a separate section in theaters, away in the rear. In Hawaii a man of any race may be seated in the best section. If our traveler were to visit the public schools, he might find a Negro woman as principal of a school in which she is the only Negro, or he might find one whose principal is an American Indian. He might be shocked to discover that men of dark complexion can and do arrest white criminals and act as their jailers. If he goes to the governor's reception, he will see men of all colors shaking hands and holding friendly conversation with each other. If he is entertained at the home of a leading citizen and if he is believed not to have sentiments antagonistic thereto, he may sit at the table with guests, some of whom are not of his own race. If he is taken to a university social affair, he will see young men and young women of several races and mixed races dancing on the same floor and to the same music. Should our traveler visit the industrial or the commercial sections of the city, he might find a white man who takes orders from a man of some other race or a white man who deposits his money in a bank with a Chinese or Japanese

manager. If he consults the report of the Bureau of Vital Statistics, he will find that men and women of all races are intermarrying and that, in the general process of interracial amalgamation through marriage, the white race is taking an important part. Possibly our traveler may attend a church wedding to witness a white young woman marry a man of some other race while the friends of both or several races give their sanction by sitting in the pews. . . .

In short, the race mores of Hawaii are, or tend to be, the mores of race equality, and the doctrines are, therefore, unorthodox from the standpoint of white people, especially most English-speaking white people.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY OF COMPLETE SEGREGATION AND INEQUALITY

Relatively speaking, if the situation of the black man is heaven in Brazil, it is purgatory in the United States, and hell in South Africa. The native in South Africa is not a citizen. With minor exceptions, he may not vote, own land, bear arms in defense of his country, enter an occupation of his own choice, live where he pleases, or leave the Union. He is discriminated against in all matters of importance: marriage, residence, occupation, wages, taxation, freedom of movement, property ownership, and the vote. Generally speaking, he is without rights, and the whites intend to keep him without them. The basic principle of the white philosophy is that the Union of South Africa is a white man's country, and the whites are a master race.

At bottom, the system of race relations is one of injustice based on fear. According to the 1946 population census, there are 2,372,690 whites (called Europeans), 7,805,592 natives (Bantus), 285,260 Asiatics (mainly Indians), and 928,484 Coloured (mixed bloods). The whites fear "black engulfment" since they are a numerical minority. About half of the whites are British and half are Afrikaners or descendants of the Boers. The latter are more insistent than the former on color-bar legislation. This is illustrated by Article 9 of the Transvaal Grondwet: "There shall be no equality between black and white either in Church or State." Also, the whites in the rural areas, where they are even more outnumbered by the natives, are more outspoken proponents of segregation than those in the cities.

White domination has been secured by depriving the natives of

their land and forcing them to work for the whites on plantations and farms or in mines and industries under binding contracts. The two million Europeans own 91 per cent of the land of South Africa; the seven million Bantus own 9 per cent. About 30 per cent of the native population work on European-owned farms; about 45 per cent are on reserves or native areas; the remainder live in mine or industrial compounds or urban locations. The native reserves, compounds, and locations are all segregated areas. The last-mentioned includes the servant quarters in the rear of white homes or, more commonly, segregated districts in the suburbs, which subjects the natives to considerable expense for rent and for getting to and from work in the city. With the exception of Cape Province, the natives throughout the Union have no freedom of movement. They must carry traveling passes or permits when moving from one area to another. They must also carry identification passes at all times, indicating their service contract or employment. If they are absent from their place of residence after a certain hour in the evening—the curfew law for natives—they must be in possession of special passes from their employers. Says Tinley (p. 148),

In the enforcement of these regulations natives are subject to constant surveillance and interference by the police. A native may be stopped at any time, day or night, for the inspection of his identification pass and night pass if after curfew hours. Should a native inadvertently be without his passes, he is taken to a police station or charge officer where he may be detained for several hours before he can establish the fact that he has a pass.

In addition to the pass laws there are numerous other restrictions imposed on the natives, violation of which is punishable by imprisonment and fine. Moreover, many acts which are regarded as civil offenses for Europeans constitute criminal offenses for the native.

In order to ensure an adequate supply of native labor for the mining and other industries, a system has been developed for the recruitment of natives. The worker must have a labor contract, which is binding usually for not longer than twelve months but, if entered into before a magistrate or justice of the peace, may be for as long as five years. There are penalties for nonfulfillment of contracts. All skilled jobs in the mining industry are reserved by

law for whites. Moreover, there is a "colour bar" enforced by labor unions which in effect excludes natives from higher grades of work in other industries. Even the unskilled and semiskilled jobs are not freely open to natives, for under the Civilized Labour Policy, adopted to meet the problem of unemployed Europeans, a consistent attempt has been made to encourage the employment in such jobs, wherever feasible, of Europeans in place of native labor. The government itself has followed this policy. The effect has been not only to displace native labor but to drive the wages of those who manage to secure work down to the lowest possible rates. The natives, moreover, have no right to strike. The earnings of natives in the mining industry are only one-ninth of those of whites. In short, the economic system of the country appears to be based on the exploitation of a large submerged population.

Special taxes are levied on the natives to induce them to seek employment. Every male native of eighteen years and over is required to pay a personal tax, known as the General Tax, of one pound a year. In addition, every occupier of a hut or dwelling in a native area is required to pay a Local Tax of ten shillings a hut per year, up to a maximum of two pounds annually. To obtain the money for these taxes, the natives must leave the reserves and work for whites. Most of the revenue from these native taxes is earmarked for improvement of conditions in native areas and for native education. But according to Norman Leys, government expenditure on roads is three hundred times more per head in the European-owned areas than it is in the native reserves, and under the separate school system the government spends sixty times as much on each European child's education as it does on each African child's education. The General Tax alone absorbs at least 2 per cent of the gross income of the great majority of natives and probably at least 3 per cent of their net cash income. It is significant that Europeans whose incomes are low (below 400 pounds a year) are not required to pay income tax. The poverty of the natives is extreme, their standard of living is exceedingly low, and their vitality and physique are deteriorating.

Not only economically, but politically and socially as well, the natives are a subordinate class. Their political participation is limited to the election of 3 out of the 153 representatives to the House of Assembly and 4 out of the 44 members of the Senate, but these individuals must be Europeans. There is no provision for

Africans to represent their fellow countrymen. There is, to be sure, a native Representative Council of 22 members, but its function is solely advisory with reference to proposed legislation affecting the native population. In social life public opinion ordains that the natives shall be regarded as a class apart. They must be humbly courteous to whites, all of whom they conventionally address as "boss." There is a severe taboo on eating, traveling, or conversing as equals with any natives. The whites do not accept either concubinage or marriage with them. The belief is strong in their innate inferiority. In short, the blacks in South Africa are a subservient and despised race, with no legal equality before the law.

PROPOSALS AND TRENDS IN THE UNITED STATES

The system of race relations in the United States is intermediate between the two extremes represented by Brazil and South Africa. Viewed historically, it may be said to be moving away from the South African type, which is reminiscent of conditions under slavery, and toward the Brazilian model. Although the actual situation is one of transition from a castelike system to full citizenship status, opinion is by no means unanimous. Proposals as to race policy range from complete segregation and subordination to full equality in all relationships, social as well as civic.

There are some who would solve the problem by getting rid of the Negroes. Robert W. Shufeldt, an ex-army doctor, stated in his book *The Negro, a Menace to American Civilization* (p. 145): "It would doubtless be a capital thing, if it could be done, to emasculate the entire negro race and all its descendants in this country and effectually stop the breed right now and thus prevent any further danger from them and the horrors of their crossing continually with the Anglo-Saxon stock." But he rejected this measure on the ground that it would leave the Negro here for some time, free to wreak his vengeance, and he advocated deportation as a better solution. There have also been some who have thought that the problem would solve itself through the gradual disappearance of the Negro, as was predicted, for example, by Frederick L. Hoffman in 1896 as a result of his studies of Negro mortality. Negrophobes found comfort in such predictions,

and some of them may have carried their thoughts to the logical conclusion that this presumably biological trend might be furthered by promoting high sickness and death rates among Negroes or at least withholding medical provisions and public health measures. Most of the drastic proposals, however, have been concerned with completely segregating the Negroes on reservations or in a Pale of Settlement, or the Communist suggestion of James S. Allen to form a Negro republic in the Black Belt, or, more commonly, deporting them to Africa.

Return to Africa. The idea of sending the Negroes back to Africa is an old one. As a form of assisted migration and colonization it was favored by Thomas Jefferson, Henry Clay, and James Monroe, among others (Abraham Lincoln urged Congress to colonize them in the West Indies), and it was actually attempted early in the nineteenth century in an effort that led to the founding of the Republic of Liberia. The Garvey Back to Africa movement, as we have seen, revealed the interest of some Negroes themselves in the idea. Much before his time there was a similar undertaking organized by Negroes in the South. The Liberian Exodus Association was created in 1876 as a stock company to buy ships to transport Negroes to the promised land of Africa. Actually one ship was purchased, which sailed from Charleston in 1877 and landed about 400 passengers in Liberia. In 1936 the Virginia Senate memorialized Congress to pass a bill which would permit and encourage the colonization of Liberia by American Negroes. Senator Bilbo of Mississippi was an ardent spokesman for the idea; one of his speeches on the subject was published in the *Congressional Record* of May 24, 1938. As a form of forced migration or deportation, the proposal has been advanced by various writers, such as Shufeldt, Hollis Read, Earnest S. Cox, and George Mallison. The last-mentioned author further proposed that sterilization be adopted as a penalty for any who should remain here. The American Negro has no more interest in returning to Africa than white native Americans have of returning to Europe. Bad as their condition may be here, it is better than it would be in Africa. They cannot be induced to go and would resist forcible removal. The latter would be unconstitutional and opposed by whites as well.

The idea of a colony in Africa to be settled by freed slaves was apparently first suggested by Ezra Stiles, president of Yale College

(1778-1795). In 1817 the American Colonization Society was organized for that purpose, and it selected a site on the west coast of Africa which it named Liberia, "land of freedom," and called its capital Monrovia in honor of President Monroe. The first group of manumitted slaves landed in 1821. All told, about 15,000 were assisted to emigrate. The society retained control of the colony until 1847 when the free and independent Republic of Liberia was established. The scheme of colonization turned out to be a fantastic dream, and none of the settlements flourished. The population today consists of the Americo-Liberians, descendants of the freed American slaves, who number only fifteen or twenty thousand and are concentrated in the towns and on the plantations of the coastal strip, and the aborigines, of whom there are about a million and a half, scattered in villages throughout the hinterland. With the connivance of white business interests, the aboriginal tribes have been ruled by the Americo-Liberians in a kind of colonial system with forced labor and political subordination. The largest single industry has been the rubber plantations of the Firestone Rubber Company, which has also owned the only bank and through a loan agreement has exercised financial domination over the country. Drastic reforms were introduced with the inauguration of President Tubman in 1944. Legislation has been passed giving the aborigines the right to vote and representation in the national legislature. In 1947, with the sanction of the Liberian government a private enterprise, the Liberia Company, was formed by former Secretary of State E. R. Stettinius, Jr., and associates to develop the natural resources of the country with American capital and business knowledge. Ten per cent of the stock of the company has been set aside as an endowment for a welfare organization, the Liberian Foundation, to foster education, sanitation, hospitals, and other facilities.

Solution within the Framework of Democracy. The grave and perplexing problem of the relation of whites and Negroes cannot be dismissed. The deportation of Negroes, the establishment of a Negro state, complete segregation—such proposals or hopes are vain. The solution must be in harmony with the fundamental law of the nation and with its free institutions. In sharp contrast to the situation in South Africa, the oppression of the Negro, while not absent in some form in every section of the United States, is not a part of national policy. Constitutionally, the Negro is a

citizen. The Fourteenth Amendment guarantees him equal protection of the laws, the privileges and immunities of citizenship, and the right not to be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process. The Negro's citizenship rights have been and are continually being invaded, but he still has the right to oppose that invasion in the courts. The problem may be said to have been solved in principle. The difficulty lies in translating the principle fully into actuality.

The Constitution, the framework of American democratic government, was the work of, and was intended to be applied to, a single group of people practiced in self-government and of the same cultural and racial background and experience. It did not foresee the abolition of slavery or other conditions that subsequently developed. The problem has been to make it fit new conditions. The war amendments legally brought the Negro within the constitutional framework. But they could not make the two races equal in matters of culture and experience; only the advancement of the Negro could lessen the differences in these respects. That development has proceeded apace and has been accompanied by gains in rights and status. In view of the complexity of the situation, it is a tribute to the American experiment in democracy that there has not been more friction. The Southern lawyer and poet, William Alexander Percy (p. 400), has remarked:

It is incredible that two races, centuries apart in emotional and mental discipline, alien in physical characteristics, doomed by war and the Constitution to a single, not a dual way of life, and to an impractical and unpracticed theory of equality which deludes and embitters, heckled and misguided by pious fools from the North and impious fools from the South—it is incredible, I insist, that two such dissimilar races should live side by side with so little friction in such comparative peace and amity.

This liberal, aristocratic Southerner was inclined to attribute the result to good manners. "The Southern Negro," he said, "has the most beautiful manners in the world, and the Southern White, learning from him, I suspect, is a close second." Herskovits (pp. 150-152) thinks that polite behavior is an Africanism, but Lillian Smith (p. 290) asserts realistically: "Good manners are still the best life insurance a colored person ever took out." Good

manners have no doubt reduced friction, but the result is due essentially to the democratic process.]

The attitudes of both Negroes and whites have been important factors in that process. Unlike the minorities of Europe who are striving for political independence or at least to maintain and preserve their cultural identity, the minority peoples of the United States, particularly the Negroes, are fighting for status in the larger society. The Negro has identified his cause with the broader issues in American life, and he has acted in a traditionally American way by resenting inferior or second-class status. As the Negro poet James Weldon Johnson (p. 13) expressed it:

TO AMERICA

How would you have us, as we are
Or sinking 'neath the load we bear?
Our eyes fixed forward on a star
Or gazing empty at despair?

Rising or falling? Men or things?
With dragging pace or footsteps fleet?
Strong, willing sinews in your wings?
Or tightening chains about your feet?

What the Negro wants is the same rights, opportunities, and privileges that other Americans have, and the wisest among them know that these things have to be achieved.

The Negro, as we have already seen, has made remarkable advance, but as James Weldon Johnson said in an address at Fisk University (p. 3):

No appreciable advance could have been made if the Negro had not been enabled to generate within the race itself a vital part of the motive power essential to progress. Something might have been done for the Negro, and the race might have been pulled along a pace or two, but without this internal power there could not have been any spontaneous and determined move forward.

Important among the forces generating this motive power is education, a primary precept of democracy. Education has made the Negro a more competent citizen. At the same time it has increased his desire for full citizenship and full participation in American life and also his ability to make his wishes known.

Negroes have become more articulate in publicizing their

wrongs and more skillful in fighting for their rights. A great protest literature has developed, and the Negro newspapers like moral gadflies have been "stinging away at the American conscience." Negro organizations have increasingly been demanding and fighting for Negro rights under the law. This protest and, at times, belligerency has secured for Negroes many gains, but it encounters the danger, if pressed too far, of alienating white allies without whose assistance Negroes can never hope to attain their ends. Brearley says (p. 344),

Like any other minority, the Negro faces the difficult choice of when to be docile and when to be aggressive. At all times he needs to avoid any conduct or any attitude that will unite against himself the vast white majority. The arousal of the whites against the Negro would, of course, be for him a greater misfortune than all of the injustices he now resents so bitterly. Only exceedingly wise leadership can determine when rebellion is doing more harm than good.

Their preoccupation with the Negro problem has inspired Negroes to achieve and to show the world their capacity to share modern civilization, but at the same time it has also tended to make Negro art and literature and general outlook on life provincial, introvertive, and narrowly race conscious. It has made the Negroes impatient at the rate of progress in their integration into American democracy though any great advancement toward such a goal must by the very nature of the case be counted by generations rather than by years. Standing in the way are not only a battery of customs, traditions, fears, and prejudices representative of white attitudes but also the low status and low-class habits of a large proportion of the Negroes, particularly in the deep South. The American Negro has come a long way, and he still has some distance to travel. As is indicated by the evidence in preceding chapters, in education, health, economic status, family status, and other respects he is now about a generation behind the whites. Much as the Negroes have accomplished, they still have much to learn. For one thing, they need to develop greater ability and experience in working together. What unity prevails within the group is probably more the product of pressure from without than of internal organization. There are few large cooperative enterprises. Negro communities are frequently torn by cliques and divided by wide differences of opinion. Their churches tend to

split, their lodges break up, and other organizations be rent by dissension when they reach a certain size. They have dozens of leaders, but often they pull in different directions. They are ready to criticize each other and reluctant to accord praise. There is, of course, historical background to account for this deficiency. During slavery and after, Negroes became accustomed to depend on whites; there was little mechanism for any kind of group co-operation. The point is that this handicap must be overcome to a greater degree if further progress is to be made.

Another thing which Negroes can do to advance their welfare is to try to eliminate behavior among their group that is reprehensible in the eyes of the dominant white group. To be sure, any group of people subjected to unfavorable conditions will bear the earmarks of that treatment, and if the treatment is changed, the earmarks will change. It is also true that one of the most effective means of changing the attitudes and behavior patterns of Negroes is for the general community to take action to improve the status of its Negro citizens. "Once there is evidence of such a program," says Weaver (p. 216), "there is an incentive for the Negro community to assume a greater responsibility for the attitudes and conduct of its own members." But over and beyond this there is a wide range for the play of individual and group initiative. Moreover, it is a truism that no one, white or black, can demand respect; it must be earned.

This handicap of the American Negro has long been pointed out by Negro as well as white observers. In his book, *The American Negro*, written in 1901, William Hannibal Thomas, a near white, maintained that not color but the Negro's traits of character and behavior were the cause of prejudice. A South African visitor, Maurice S. Evans (*Black and White in the Southern States*, p. 111), wrote in 1915 of the Southern Negro: "That man is his friend who tells him plainly that dirt, disorder, unthrift, and laziness are his besetting sins and that if he does not overcome them, he deserves all he gets from nature and the white man." During the Second World War, when Negro newspapers were conducting a Double V campaign for victory at home as well as abroad, Wendell P. Dabney, owner-editor of the *Cincinnati Union*, proposed a third V for "victory over ourselves." It was his view, as quoted favorably by Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Sr. (p. 87), that "... as long as we tolerate and condone among ourselves public mis-

conduct, impoliteness, spendthrift habits, slovenliness, uncleanness, we need never hope to attain the standards that white American citizenship endorses, the rights that the U.S. Constitution accords."

Mention should also be made of the Vanguard League, an organization that not only champions Negroes in dealing with the white world but undertakes leadership in the Negro community, especially through its Good Conduct Campaign. Writes Libby (p. 85),

The League realizes that Negroes, fairly or unfairly, are rarely judged as individuals, but almost always and everywhere as representatives of their race. The public conduct of each, even if he is no more than a shoeshine boy or an anonymous passenger on a streetcar, reflects credit or the reverse on the whole race. Besides, since all Negroes, whether they like it or not, have to live in the Negro section, the more attractive that section becomes and the nicer the people thereof, the better for all concerned.

The Vanguarders display and distribute posters and cards which read: "Are you wasting your money?" "Watch your conduct on streetcars." "Soap is not rationed. Avoid B.O." "Do you neglect your children?" "Are you guilty of absenteeism, laying off especially after pay day?" "Zoot suits, the mark of irresponsibility!" "Fix that door; cut that grass; pull those weeds." "Buy war bonds."

What Negroes can do to help themselves and advance their welfare was forcefully stated in an editorial in the *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, one of the leading Negro newspapers, which was reprinted as the "Editorial of the Month" by *The Crisis* (December, 1939, p. 371), as follows:

WE SHOULD QUIT SINGIN' THE BLUES

Though we are confronted with many obstacles in our struggle upward, all of our handicaps are not imposed upon us by our white neighbors as one would be led to think by the nature of some complaints.

A few illustrations will doubtless suffice to drive this thought home. For example, the white people are not preventing us from reducing our large number of debt-overburdened churches to a smaller number of better built, more attractive, and debt-free institutions.

They are not preventing us from demanding and having a smaller number of better educated and better paid clergymen.

There is no record, legal or otherwise, that white people are stopping us from efficiently managing our fraternal organizations.

We have yet to hear of any white people preventing us from organizing cooperative consumers' leagues and producers' associates which would offer some jobs and hope to the thousands who come out of school each year wondering what they are going to do with their education.

As we went to press, we heard of no white people forcing Negroes to waste their money on bad liquor, needless dances, unnecessary and costly conventions, and the numbers game.

There is no evidence that the dominant group has handed down an order that colored business places must be ramshackle, dirty, indifferent as to service, and uninviting on the whole.

The Whites have not decreed that colored citizens should be inefficient, lack discipline and solidarity, and disregard the laws of sanitation and hygiene.

White people, it is true, are guilty of discrimination, segregation, and disfranchisement, but they are not guilty of the ends mentioned above, which are just as bad.

Of course, we need to continue intelligent agitation for full social equality in the broad sense of that term. Nevertheless, we should concentrate on some of the evils surrounding us and for which we are primarily responsible and place ourselves in a better condition to solve our other problems.

Along with self-improvement on the part of Negroes there is need for education of the white population to appreciate the reason for the Negro's dissatisfaction with his present status and to prepare the whole community to widen the opportunities for Negro participation in its life. Unless there is concurrent training of the majority group to make concessions, conflicts are inevitable. The crux of the situation is that the Negro has developed more rapidly than his opportunities for participation in American life have widened.

It has been said that the problem of Negro-white relations is largely a white problem. In the first place, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the problem is not of the Negro's making; that no group in the population is less responsible for its existence; that the Negroes alone of all immigrants to America came against their will and by the compelling invitation of the whites; that the institution of slavery was introduced, expanded, and maintained by the white people and for their own benefit, and that they likewise

created the conditions that followed emancipation. America has failed to apply to its colored population the basic principles of democracy, or, more accurately speaking, it has applied them only partially and tardily.

The problem is also largely a white problem from the standpoint of race attitudes. Much of the thinking about Negroes on the part of whites is irrational. It is based on lack of knowledge and on lack of acquaintanceship, which appears, indeed, to be increasing. Under the old order, when most Negroes were either slaves or servants, the Negro as a race was probably better known, better understood, and the object of less suspicion on the part of the white community than is the case today. Whites also generally hold the untenable views that Negroes are by nature inferior, criminal, and immoral. Moreover, most of their thinking about Negroes consists of stereotypes or judgments which do not coincide with the facts. As is commonly the case with a submerged minority, the stereotypes are most often based upon the less desirable qualities exhibited by its least desirable members but attributed to the entire group. Racial stereotypes appear to be especially indiscriminating since highly visible physical characteristics tend to overshadow all other characteristics and to create an illusion of a greater similarity between the individuals of the alien group and a greater difference from the in-group than is actually warranted. As the old song expressed it, "all coons look alike to me." Such a statement reflects not the monotony of the subject but the superficiality of the observer. Jacques Barzun (p. 24) asks: "What should we think of a chemist, or even of a mere druggist, who would class all white powders as bicarbonate of soda and dispense them on that convenient principle?" Much improvement in race relations would result if whites regarded Negroes as individuals rather than as members of a racial group or at least recognized the great differences that exist among Negroes as to education, social class, achievement, manners, and other characteristics, and treated them accordingly. In other words, the whites need to discriminate between Negroes instead of discriminating against them. Also, as Ray Stannard Baker (p. 302) once said: "As a fundamental proposition it will be found that the solution of the Negro problem lies in treating the Negro more and more as a human being like ourselves."

The Northern Policy of Full Equality before the Law. In

considering race policy and trends in the United States it will be helpful to distinguish between public and social aspects and between the North and the South. As was mentioned in Chap. 14, human relations may be classed as public or legal or civic relations, which are a matter of impersonal right, and social or voluntary relations, which are a matter of personal choice and privilege. From the national standpoint American policy as an ideal, more realized in the North than in the South, is equality in public relations. This is the basic law of the land, reflected in the Negro's rights as a citizen. Legally, constitutionally, there are no grades of citizenship; all citizens are equal before the law. With regard to social relations, the national policy and practice, with regional modifications, is that of separateness and parallelism. By this dual term is meant that there is no basic cultural difference between Negroes and whites—they both have the same language, religion, political views, and other customs and values—but they operate separately along parallel lines of the basic national pattern. As Robert R. Moton, late head of Tuskegee Institute, expressed it, Negroes will build up their own social life in the midst of the common national life. Thus, one speaks of the Negro community vis-à-vis the white community or the Negro social world opposite to the white social world. We have already noted the extent of the separate Negro world in homes, schools, churches, hospitals, newspapers, literature, economic institutions, and recreational organizations; and the advantages and disadvantages of this separate economy.

In the North, the Negro generally enjoys full public or legal equality, that is, without segregation. Although there is some discrimination in the actual exercise of civil rights and the enjoyment of public facilities, the discrimination differs radically from that in the South in that, as Odum (p. 39) well points out, it is "not compulsory or universal or incorporated in the technical, legal institutions or in the organic philosophy of white-Negro-caste culture." The Negro has at least the possibilities within the framework of American institutions to attain complete equality of opportunity. In the field of social relations, while the North follows the principle of segregation, the separation is not rigid or complete, and it is moving in the direction of eventual integration. The total picture, however, is one of contradiction. As Drake and Cayton (p. 757) express it, Negro-white relations in the North involve

the two opposing principles of free competition and fixed status. The latter principle is alien to Northern life as well as to American idealism.

In industry, politics, and the use of public services the principle of free competition is dominant but is checked and limited by the principle of fixed status. In the realm of housing, on the other hand, the principle of fixed status predominates but is challenged by the principle of free competition. In "social" affairs the principle of fixed status operates almost unchecked.

As Professor Odum (pp. 42-43) points out, there is a Northern as well as a Southern racial creed. He lists some fourteen points in the Northern credo, which boil down pretty much to the fact that Northern whites proclaim full rights and opportunities for Negroes but qualify them in practice, for example: "That the Negro should be permitted to buy or rent property and live in any neighborhood that he wished, provided it was not in a neighborhood where he was not wanted;" "That the Negro had a right to marry a white person so long as he did not marry into 'my family' or the families of friends or relatives;" "That the Negro should have equal economic opportunities with the white man, provided no individual must be expected to employ a Negro except as a domestic or unskilled laborer;" or "That a Negro had a right to stay in the same hotel, eat in the same dining room, frequent the same night clubs, etc., with the whites, provided he did not go to those commonly used by the whites." Inconsistency and hypocrisy in race relations are undoubtedly much more characteristic of the North. One is reminded of Robert K. Merton's comment (pp. 121-122) that Northerners treat Negroes less favorably than they talk about them while Southerners talk about Negroes less favorably than they treat them. On the other hand, there are fundamental differences between the Negro's status in the North and his status in the South. Dr. L. D. Reddick (pp. 290-300) lists four basic distinctions. In the North (1) the law is on the Negro's side in his fight for equal rights; (2) the Negro is not disfranchised; (3) there is no tradition of slavery, a "lost cause," or "terrible Reconstruction"; (4) the general social and intellectual development of both whites and Negroes is higher.

The Southern Policy of Biracialism. In the South the historical element in race relations, epitomized in masters and slaves, is

powerful and resists any effort to extirpate custom by law. The South never accepted in principle the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and does not feel bound to observe them. Its race policy is one of complete separation, which may be termed "biracialism," in both public and social relations. In harmony with its racial creed which posits the innate inferiority of Negroes, it believes that the very existence of the social order depends upon keeping the Negro in his place. Even when modifications are made because of economic necessity, political expediency, and democratic idealism, the Negro must never challenge the fundamental rule of segregation in most aspects of community life. The Negro is assigned his place and that is the end of the matter so far as the Southern white is concerned. As an English observer, Stephen Graham (p. 215) expressed it: "The Southerner has made the Negro a pair of boots, and he says they fit very well. The Negro says they don't fit. But the Southerner says he'll risk his salvation on it—he made the boots, and he knows his trade. The Negro, however, has to wear them."

The biracial laws of the South forbid the Negro to participate as an equal in white society as such, but they acknowledge his right to flourish in the more general biracial society of which both white and black are members. The closest that the South comes to the American ideal of full equality before the law is in the principle of "separate and equal" legislation. In actual practice the separate provisions for Negroes are generally inferior to those for whites, but it is the aim of the liberal element to make them truly equal while maintaining separation. In the South separatism is not accompanied by parallelism; the line between the two groups as they participate in the national culture is not the vertical line of a biracial society; it is still near the horizontal line of a caste society. The trend in the South, however, is definitely toward a biracial, in contrast to an integrated, society; and the Negro's lot is being and will continue to be improved within that framework. The practicable goal cannot be other than full public equality under separation. After that end is eventually attained, it will be early enough to consider the next goal, now characteristic of the North, of public equality without segregation. Social relations, both North and South, will take care of themselves; they are not a matter of public policy.

The most significant development in the South with reference

to racial policy is the growing liberal movement. A Southern liberal may be defined as any Southerner who supports a progressive political program, who deplures poll taxes and lynchings, who believes that the Negro is entitled to full political and civil rights, to economic opportunity, and to an equitable share in the distribution of tax moneys for public health, public education, public utilities, and improvements—all within the structure of segregation. These views are being expressed and translated into action by numerous leaders in public life and by organizations to improve race relations. Also among the liberalizing forces are such journals as *Social Forces*, the *Virginia Quarterly Review*, the *World Outlook*, and the *North Georgia Review*; and such leading newspapers as the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, *Nashville Tennessean*, *Chattanooga Times*, *Raleigh News and Observer*, *Atlanta Constitution*, and *Atlanta Journal*.

It is also noteworthy that this new Southern viewpoint is thinking in terms of the Southern region as a whole. It sees the problems of the South as common problems of all the people who live there. Under the leadership of such scholars as Howard W. Odum and others at the University of North Carolina and such organizations as the Southern Conference on Human Welfare and the Southern Regional Council, a movement of co-operative planning and action is under way to improve social, educational, and economic opportunities for all Southerners, white and black. From the standpoint of race relations this is a basic approach, for it aims at raising the general level of living.

The organized movement to improve race relations in the South began in the second decade of the twentieth century. It started in an attempt to reduce friction and promote co-operation between the races—to create a *modus vivendi* or system of accommodation between the two separate and conflicting groups on the basis of their mutual interests. It then developed, as mentioned above, into a broader program of advancing the welfare of the Southern region. Groundwork was laid by such organizations as the University Commission on Race Questions, organized in 1912 and supported by the Phelps-Stokes Fund until it went out of existence in 1925. This group of university men issued a series of open letters in which they analyzed various problems and stated that the welfare of the South was bound up with the

welfare of the Negroes. They stimulated the introduction of courses on race questions in Southern colleges and universities. In 1917 the Southern Publicity Committee was established for the purpose of improving the handling of racial news and particularly of emphasizing the constructive and friendly relationship between the races. During its four-year existence it too was supported by the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

The most effective and enduring of these pioneer organizations was the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, established in 1919 and replaced in 1944 by the Southern Regional Council. It was supported at first by the Y.M.C.A. War Work Council and later by foundation grants. The commission organized committees of white and colored leaders on a state and county basis to meet and discuss their common problems and work for better race relations. Its approach was gradualistic, its philosophy that of taking the next practical step in the direction of interracial justice and good will. It was instrumental in securing for Negroes more adequate educational opportunities, extension of health and hospital facilities, recreational centers, libraries, and improvement of public services. It investigated grievances and sought relief. The commission was the embodiment of Southern liberalism in its activity on the Negro issue. It represented the most enlightened conscience of the South. Among its accomplishments was that of making interracial work socially respectable in the conservative South. Interracial organizations and meetings have become standard techniques. The commission also contributed a great deal to research on race problems in the South, to the creation of more comprehensive literature on the subject, and to biracial education and understanding.

The most comprehensive organization in the field of race relations in the South today is the Southern Regional Council, organized in 1944, with headquarters in Atlanta. It is an outgrowth of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and a series of conferences held in Durham by Southern Negro leaders, in Atlanta by liberal white Southerners, and in Richmond by members of both groups. In October, 1942, Negro leaders meeting in Durham issued a statement of what the Negro wants and expects—"a basis for interracial cooperation and development in the South." This conference called for full civil rights and equal rights in industry, agriculture, education, and social welfare. A conference

of white Southerners, presided over by Ralph McGill of the *Atlanta Constitution*, was held in April, 1943, to reply to the program drafted by the Negro group. It accepted the statement of objectives in principle though it sidestepped the demand for the ballot and held to the principle of segregation though it declared against discrimination in the administration of the separation laws. It agreed "to cooperate in any sound program aimed at the improvement of race relations" and appointed a committee to meet with representatives of the Durham conference. A joint conference was held at Richmond in June, 1943, which authorized the incorporation of the movement into the Southern Regional Council.

Biracial in its make-up, the Southern Regional Council is dedicated to the improvement of social, civic, economic, and racial conditions in the South. It is not exclusively a race-relations organization. It believes that it is a mistake to regard the problems of the South purely in terms of race. "Friction between the races," it states in one of its pamphlets, "can best be combated by bringing the entire population of the South abreast of modern standards in health, education, employment, farming, and culture. To work toward the goal of a higher standard of well-being for all the South's citizens is to work for equal opportunity for members of all races." Its functions include coordination of the work of agencies concerned with Southern problems; research and surveys; educational activities through its monthly bulletin, the *New South*, and through pamphlets, press, radio, conferences, and personal contacts; consultative services; and promotion of specific programs of action through its staff and membership. Its program calls for the assurance of the civil rights of all the people of the South, abolition of the poll tax, equitable law enforcement, extension of the practice of employing Negro policemen, jury service for all, employment of all persons on the basis of ability, equalization of educational opportunity and facilities and of pay for teachers, extension of publicly financed low-cost housing, increased publicly financed medical and dental care available to both races on an equal basis, and equal accommodations for Negroes on all public transportation facilities. This forward-looking program is gradually winning support. It represents the most important trend in race relations in the South and the most feasible plan of action for that region.

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CHAPTER 22

THE FUTURE OF THE NEGRO

(Continued)

EFFORTS TO PROMOTE INTERRACIAL UNITY

A great many organizations have come into existence, mainly in the North, with programs and activities looking toward the reduction of intergroup tensions and the improvement of race relations. They represent various approaches to the basic problem of how to offset or to adjust to the factors of prejudice and discrimination which limit and restrict the Negro's advance and cause friction and conflict and national disunity. Before a discussion of the goals and methods of such organizations, it may be well to consider the characteristics of the factors involved.

NATURE OF PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

In its broadest meaning prejudice, as applied to individuals, is simply a prejudgment on the basis of some type of social categorization. It is an opinion or feeling, usually unfavorable, conceived beforehand or independently of experience or reason. Says Professor Robin M. Williams, Jr. (p. 36):

Prejudice, in this general sense, is an inevitable and universal feature of social life. What is significant as a variable is the basis upon which any particular prejudice rests. The crucial distinction lies between prejudices which are based upon functional position in the social order or real differences in values and those which emphasize stereotypes centered on symbols such as skin color which have no intrinsic functional importance. . . . There is a great difference between "prejudices" against social positions such as employers, ministers, labor leaders, radio commentators, bootleggers, professors, landlords, etc., on the one hand, and prejudices against racial or cultural groups, on the other.

Race prejudice may be defined as a socially acquired tendency to react with varying degrees of aversion to members of a group

identified as a race. It is the outcome of racial differences, the old distinction between in-group and out-group members, and will probably exist as long as there are racial differences even though it may be no more prominent than a distinction made between "nice-looking" and "ugly" individuals according to a certain accepted idea of beauty. In general, the greater the degree of difference and the larger the size of the racial group, the sharper is the expression of prejudice. It is also characteristic of prejudice that virtues become vices when invested in outsiders. As Klineberg (pp. 244, 247) points out, prejudice in the United States is a social norm, that is, thinking in terms of racial or ethnic background is a standard way of responding, and the pattern of preference shown in the rating of racial and national groups is highly constant throughout the country. Negroes and other colored minorities are usually toward the bottom of the list in the preferences expressed by the dominant whites. Members of minority groups share in the national pattern of preferences with the exception that they move their own group from its usually low position in the list and place it at or near the top. Meltzer found in his study of 2,422 school children that urban children are more tolerant and international-minded than rural children; middle class children are the most tolerant, and upper-class the least; colored children are more tolerant than white; and children belonging to certain Protestant denominations are the most liberal while those belonging to other Protestant denominations are the least liberal.

Although racial differences are inborn, race prejudice is acquired. It is a socially conditioned way of reacting, not an instinctive or natural antipathy. It does not manifest itself in infancy but appears only after it has been inculcated by adult instruction; it varies in intensity in individuals and is modifiable by time, place, and circumstances; wherever races have come into contact, miscegenation has occurred. The point of view which an individual may hold toward other groups is chiefly determined not by knowledge of, or experience with, such individuals but by the prevailing attitude toward these groups as reflected in the teaching of parents and others. Parents know or sense the attitudes of the community and transmit them to their children at an early age. The school, the church, the novel, the newspaper, and other agencies reinforce this teaching. As the individual reaches adulthood, com-

munity sanctions, customs, and even the law in some instances tend to fix permanently the attitudes he has developed. As part of this "mis-education," as Thompson (p. 119) terms it,

The community finds that as the child grows older, it becomes necessary to provide some rational basis for his prejudice. This is the more necessary since race prejudice runs counter to a basic tenet of his political, social, and religious faith—"that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights. . . ." It becomes necessary, therefore, to invent and teach a number of stereotypes which are designed to harmonize his prejudice with his creed.

So well is this lesson taught that frequently an individual is unaware of his prejudices and tends to locate race prejudice outside himself in impersonal public opinion or community sentiments. At the same time he is so imbued with the community attitude that fear of the disapproval of society rather than any personal objections may prevent him from forming any interracial friendships, and he may be more apt to experience guilt feelings if he behaves contrary to community views than if he practices discrimination.

Various factors underlie race prejudice, for example, the repulsion of the unlike; economic competition; urges and fears for social status; feelings of inferiority, insecurity, and inadequacy that may be satisfied by conceit about one's race and group; or hostility and aggression deflected from its true object, where it is not permissible to express it, toward a defenseless scapegoat. Psychiatrists say that other factors are more deeply buried and loaded with feelings of fear, anxiety, frustration, guilt, and sexual drives and jealousies. Julius Schreiber, M.D., states (p. 55):

The prejudice itself is only a symptom of an underlying personality disturbance (ranging from very mild to very severe). The prejudice is used by the individual in his attempt to meet and solve his emotional problems. . . . He is impervious to "appeals to reason" or "appeals to ethical values" because the need of his disturbed personality for a defense or outlet has compelled him to rationalize his prejudices and discriminatory acts. To him, these feelings and actions are both "reasonable" and "moral." Facts alone, then, cannot accomplish much since prejudices arise from, and are maintained by, irrational sources. Facts, however, do have an extremely important part to play in an over-all attack upon prejudice and discrimination.

Prejudices, though intangible and irrational, are nonetheless important realities that cannot be wished or legislated away. They do not lend themselves to direct control but may be modified by education and moral training. The English historian Henry Thomas Buckle once said that the great antagonist of intolerance is not humanity but knowledge. In the long run and broadly gauged, the advancement and impartment of knowledge is the most effective device. Attempts may also be made more immediately and specifically to educate for tolerance and understanding. For example, public schools in a number of cities have inaugurated programs of intercultural education following the precedent set in Springfield, Massachusetts, and numerous colleges are conducting workshops in intercultural techniques. Most of the agencies devoted to improving race relations utilize the methods of education and propaganda to some extent. The Advertising Council, Inc., began in 1948 an aggressive national advertising campaign utilizing virtually every type of medium reaching the public, with the objective of "making racial prejudice as unpopular as B.O." Its program, known as "The United America Campaign," as reported in *The New York Times* on Feb. 6, 1948, stresses primarily the following three points: Accept—or reject—people on their individual worth; do not listen to, or spread rumors against, a race or religion; and speak up, wherever one is, in business, school, labor union, church or social group, against group prejudice. Suggestions as to the probable effectiveness of different methods and appeals along educational and moral lines are given by Williams (*The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions*, pp. 64-68).

The most promising line of attack, as Professor MacIver emphasizes in his book *The More Perfect Union*, is not on the prejudicial attitudes but on discrimination. [Whereas prejudice is a way of feeling and uncontrollable as such, discrimination is a way of behaving and in its public aspects at least is amenable to control. Discrimination is a manifestation of prejudice. As applied to the race problem, it may be defined as the differential treatment of individuals based upon their membership in a given racial group. As in the case of race prejudice, such discrimination is of the non-functional type; it is not discrimination against poverty, ignorance, training, occupation, or other functional differences but is based on color of skin or other racial traits which have no demonstrated relevance to biological or social function. Race discrimination in

the field of public relations may be defined, following MacIver, as the denial of equal access to public opportunities. Such discriminatory practices or unfair actions may be brought to an end by proper legal and institutional controls.

AGENCIES SEEKING TO IMPROVE RACE RELATIONS

Intensified by the dynamics and ideological character of the Second World War, group tensions have become a central issue in the United States, affecting its unity and welfare at home and its leadership abroad. In an attempt to reduce intergroup tensions nearly 500 race-relations agencies have come into existence, about half of them since the Detroit race riot in June, 1943. According to the *Directory of Agencies in Race Relations*, compiled by the Julius Rosenwald Fund (1945), 123 of these agencies are national organizations, the rest being regional, state, or local. Usually they are concerned with problems arising from differences in religion and national origin as well as race though the racial aspect of intergroup relations is regarded as the most serious problem demanding attention. Such race relations agencies exist in at least thirty-three states and the District of Columbia, including practically all the Southern and border states and all the states of the North with the exception of upper New England and some states in the Northwest and Mountain divisions where Negroes and immigrants constitute a small or negligible proportion of the population. They are most numerous in the North, and almost one-half of them are located in three states—New York, California, and Illinois.

Some forty of these agencies are official commissions. This is significant in that it marks the first official recognition of the race problem in the North. Most typical from this standpoint are the state interracial commissions and the mayors' race-relations committees of large metropolitan centers, such as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. Official committees are mainly concerned with those areas of governmental activity where intergroup relations are concentrated and where the status of minority groups and the attitude of majority groups toward them are most directly affected, such as law enforcement, public employment, public housing, public schools, public health, public welfare, public recreation, and other services. They also give attention to such quasi-governmental and nongovernmental activities as civil

rights, local transportation, utilities, fair employment practices, and privately financed housing—all with respect to securing provisions without restrictions as to race, creed, or color. Their primary function is to influence official action.

Most numerous are the voluntary committees which have sprung up all over the country. Many of them are hastily organized groups with a superficial approach, but they signify a widespread solicitude. These new committees are in addition to the many long-established national agencies such as the N.A.A.C.P. and the National Urban League, which have themselves come into fresh vigor with larger budgets and intensified activities. In 1944 the first national clearinghouse for information on race relations emerged with the creation of the American Council on Race Relations, financed by initial grants from the Julius Rosenwald Fund and the Marshall Field Foundation. With headquarters in Chicago, the clearinghouse renders assistance to local communities, co-operates with public and private agencies, advances and communicates knowledge about racial groups. Its objective is "the achievement of full democracy in race relations." As a further indication of national interest, in 1947 the University of Chicago started a five-year program of research, training, and education in race relations under a \$150,000 grant from the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation.

The first goal of the race-relations committees and commissions was that of curbing racial tensions and preventing disturbances. Later they sought more positive goals, such as giving help and advice, improving conditions, or gaining more opportunities for Negroes. Their methods have been chiefly those of public education, followed by community surveys and action programs. Their main difficulties have been inadequate finances, insufficient trained personnel, and ineffective means of public relations.

Fundamentally, as Robin M. Williams, Jr. (pp. 17-18) points out, there are only two avenues through which human behavior may be controlled:

First, one may operate on *the situation within which people must act*, or upon their perception of the situation, without attempting directly to alter their attitudes, sentiments, or values. The pressure for a given type of behavior then comes either from (a) revealing information which affects the way in which individuals visualize the situation or from (b) actual or potential alteration of the situation itself.

In the area of intergroup relations an example of the first type of pressure would be the effective imparting of facts convincing white workers that inclusion of Negro workers in an industrial union would increase the organization's bargaining power. A hitherto unrecognized aspect of the situation might thus become a factor in changed group relations. Random examples of the second type of alteration would include penalties for intergroup aggression or rewards for co-operation; removal of legal disabilities; economic changes resulting in greater security and lessened competition in the occupational field. Among organizations which are primarily and explicitly working on intergroup relations, the most common type of effort to change the actual situation is probably that of arranging for social contact between members of different groups. . . .

The second main avenue of control is through *direct appeal to the values or attitudes of individuals*, without necessarily changing the actual or potential situation of action in other respects. Here belongs much of the whole panoply of propaganda: use of shared symbols, prestige appeals, redefinition of values, affirmation of moral norms, manipulation of anxiety and guilt, etc.

The more specific techniques which have been used by agencies engaged in the effort to improve race relations include almost every conceivable mode of influencing human behavior. Goodwin Watson, in his survey published as *Action for Unity*, has classified these activities into seven patterns, as follows:

Exhortation. In general, exhorting to good will or preaching is ineffective. It reaches only the "saved." It evades the issue of conflicts and salves conscience. Other types of exhortation have some value. Here may be included public commendations and awards, such as the annual "honor roll of States free from lynching," the Harmon awards for Distinguished Achievements of Negroes, the Edward L. Bernays Award in Race Relations, or the Negro History Week citations of those who have contributed to better race relations.

Education. This Dr. Watson regards as helpful, especially emotional re-education. Like exhortation, it is used in a direct attempt to change attitudes or values.

Participation. Getting acquainted, working together on common problems, or living together as friends and neighbors, without segregation and with acceptance, is effective. "Getting to know one another" may be a by-product and a means of inter-racial effort, or it may be the direct object, as in the experiment

started in 1944 by the Rev. A. Ritchie Low of Johnson, Vermont, of having Negro children from Harlem visit in homes of white Vermont families. The idea has spread to other New England states and to some in the Middle West and Far West and has been extended to include exchange visits whereby white children visit in the homes of Negro families. Special efforts to "get acquainted" often have an air of artificiality about them. If contact is to play any direct part in breaking the color line, it must be accompanied by a "meeting of minds" and must involve people of similar tastes and interests. Also, as Schreiber (p. 57) emphasizes, the contact should provide a positive experience in a setting which is real. "Get acquainted by all means—but under the normal conditions of everyday life and in actively working together on mutual problems." In the last analysis, as the National Urban League states in its pamphlet on *Racial Conflict* (p. 3):

Interracial relations in the United States are the sum of the myriad of day-to-day contacts of individual whites and Negroes. Whether they are to strengthen or to deteriorate depends on the direction and the leadership developed in the communities where these contacts occur. That direction must be beyond the narrow interests of either race.

Revelation. This refers to the revealing of new facts, the disclosure to others of what was previously not known to them. It may be on an individual, group, or community basis. It includes surveys and other fact-finding investigations like the Montclair (New Jersey) Audit—a trial balance of the town's credits and debits in the civil-rights ledger, as reported in *The New York Times* of June 13, 1948. Getting the facts, breaking the problem down into manageable parts, and sharing a common interest in solving this or that part of the general problem are the means by which durable changes in race relations may come.

Negotiation. This is the method of mediation and compromise, of attempting to adjust intergroup differences.

Contention. By contrast with the above method, this is militant. It includes defending differences, agitating to equalize opportunities, removing segregation, and exerting political and legal pressures.

Prevention. Methods here include predicting areas of potential conflict, introducing prophylactic measures, training public offi-

cials, self-disciplining or preventing objectionable behavior on the part of certain members of a minority group, and removing the general sources of frustration.

[Of the long-established interracial organizations working to improve the status of the American Negro, the most important are the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League. The N.A.A.C.P. was organized in 1909, incorporated in 1911, for the purpose of securing full citizenship rights for the Negro. Its program includes the ending of lynching, abolition of segregation and discrimination based on race or color, the ending of disfranchisement, abolition of injustices in legal procedure, equitable distribution of public funds for education and other services, and equality of opportunity in all fields. The means it employs are education, organization, agitation, legal defense, and publicity.]

The spirit of the N.A.A.C.P. may be characterized as that of abolition in the modern version. The inciting cause for organizing was indignation over the race riots in 1908 at Springfield, Illinois, the home of Abraham Lincoln. The initiative was taken by William English Walling, a Southerner then living in the North. His article in *The Independent* sounded a call to action: "Either the spirit of the abolitionists, of Lincoln, and Lovejoy must be revived, and we must come to treat the Negro on a plane of absolute political and social equality, or Vardaman and Tillman will soon have transferred the race war to the North." In New York, Miss Mary White Ovington, descendant of an old-time abolitionist, and Dr. Henry Moskowitz, a Jew, responded to Walling's call and conferred with him. The three laid down plans for an organization that developed into the N.A.A.C.P. The first president, who served for many years, was the distinguished Boston lawyer, Moorfield Storey, who had been identified in his youth with the abolition movement and who had served as secretary from 1867 to 1869 to Charles Sumner, leading champion of the Negro in the United States Senate. The first vice president was Oswald Garrison Villard, grandson of William Lloyd Garrison, the abolitionist.

Within ten years after its founding, the N.A.A.C.P. had a paid membership of 45,000 and 165 branches. By 1949, at the time of its fortieth anniversary, it was organized in 1,551 branches in 45 states and was approaching a goal of 500,000 members. For

many years the N.A.A.C.P. attracted primarily the better educated and wealthier Negroes; in most branches Negro professionals and businessmen still occupy most of the offices and places on the boards and executive committees. Latterly, however, the association has gained more members in the middle and lower classes of the Negro people. The N.A.A.C.P. has been criticized for "thinking and acting entirely in a black groove" and for being zealous to do something for the Negro rather than teach the Negro to do something for himself. Its answer to these charges would probably be that so long as the Negro is denied fundamental rights, it is necessary to think in terms of defense. Among its main enduring accomplishments have been the numerous Supreme Court decisions favorable to the Negro in cases which it appealed to that body, such as suffrage rights in the South, equal educational facilities, equal pay for public schoolteachers, and the right of Negro defendants to a fair and just trial. It has also exerted considerable influence on legislation, thus reflecting the growing political power of the Negro. Its greatest victory on the political front was probably the defeat of Judge John J. Parker of North Carolina, opponent of Negro political rights, who had been appointed an associate justice of the Supreme Court by President Hoover in 1932, but whose confirmation, through the efforts of the N.A.A.C.P., was rejected by the Senate.

[Like the N.A.A.C.P., the National Urban League is an interracial movement started on white initiative. It was established in 1910 as the result of a merger of several organizations working to improve the conditions of Negroes in New York.] The late Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman became its first president. [The League operates primarily in the field of social work, and its slogan is "not alms but opportunity."] From 1922 to 1949 it published *Opportunity*, *Journal of Negro Life*; it has also issued hundreds of pamphlets and tracts dealing with various phases of social and economic needs of the Negro population. Called into being to assist in the adjustment of Negroes migrating to Northern urban and industrial areas, it has since spread to Southern and West Coast cities which have similar needs. As of 1945, it had 51 local branches located in 28 states and the District of Columbia.

[The activity of the Urban Leagues is as wide in scope as

modern social work, but the chief emphasis is on finding jobs for Negroes and on striving for equal pay for equal work and equal opportunity for advancement. The local leagues all function as employment agencies. Great emphasis is also placed on vocational training and vocational counseling. They have done much to open up new vocations for Negroes by persuading employers and labor unions to open the door of opportunity to qualified Negro workers. During both world wars they rendered special service by helping to corral available Negro manpower and bring it to a high point of efficiency. The Urban Leagues have also carried on welfare services such as day nurseries, neighborhood clubs, and co-operation with law-enforcement agencies in the mitigation of delinquency; they have attempted to get playgrounds, housing projects, schools, and other public facilities. Like the Commission on Interracial Cooperation in the South, the National Urban League has endeavored to develop good will between the races and to secure more opportunities for the Negro.

In recent years two significant developments in race relations have been the increasingly active interest of the church in the welfare of racial minorities and the growing alliance of Negroes with the labor movement. Mention has already been made of the denouncement of racial segregation by various church bodies. Numerous committees and other agencies for the improvement of race relations have been started, and the programs of existing ones have been extended. Examples of such agencies are the Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, established in 1921, conducting surveys, conferences, and race-relations clinics; the Race Relations Division of the American Missionary Association, created in 1942, among whose activities is the sponsorship of annual institutes of race relations; the American Friends Race Relations Committee, set up in 1944, which has established visiting lectureships for Negro scholars in white schools and colleges, a placement service to find positions for Negroes in fields hitherto closed to them, interracial work camps and other projects designed to bring about better understanding between the races; the Interracial Councils being established under official auspices of the Roman Catholic Church in numerous cities throughout the country; and the Commission on Community Interrelations established in 1944 by the American Jewish Congress in an effort to cure

intolerance by a program of action-research in communities where racial tensions are mounting.

One of the most aggressive fights along the racial front is that being waged by the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The official policy of the CIO is one of no discrimination, and it has formed the Committee to Abolish Discrimination to enforce this policy within its own ranks. This development is of great importance, for it indicates, on the one hand, that the labor movement has found that prejudice, discrimination, and segregation undermine its strength and retard its social progress; and, on the other hand, it involves a departure from an all-Negro approach to the Negro problem and the adoption of a policy of integration. It is pointing, within the field of labor, in the direction of the elimination of the Negro problem as such by its merger in the labor problem.

"THINGS TO DO"

"Except worry," writes Margaret Halsey (p. 22), "there is very little that a single individual, working alone, can do about improving race relations in this country. The only way to make progress is to work with other people." Later in her book, *Color Blind* (p. 150), she suggests: "No matter what your temperament or circumstances, you can write letters to radio stations, newspapers, institutions, and individuals—Congressmen, for instance—applauding them when they take a courageous stand about race relations or expressing disapproval when they are backward and regressive." Other writers have mentioned a series of "things you can do":

As an employer: Hire qualified Negro workers; make sure that the Negroes in your employment get the same pay and opportunities for advancement as your white employees.

As a worker: See that Negroes are admitted to your union and are given rights to employment and promotion; back up your employer if he seeks to give Negroes a square deal.

As a professional: See that your professional association does not discriminate against Negroes and that Negroes have equal opportunities for professional education and practice.

As a minister: Plan joint services and friendly relations with neighboring Negro churches; make sure that Negroes are made welcome in your church services and as members of your church.

As a citizen: Make friends with members of other races; be

reluctant to join or maintain membership in organizations that exclude Negroes, and try to change their policy; work to see that all facilities provided by the government in your community are opened to all citizens regardless of race, creed, or color, and that civil-rights statutes, where they exist, are enforced; give moral and financial support to agencies working to improve race relations; see that Negroes are adequately represented on community agencies such as school boards, community-chest committees, social-welfare organizations, the Red Cross, hospital staffs; refuse to laugh at or repeat anti-Negro jokes and stories; extend common courtesies to individual Negroes.

With reference to her native South, Lillian E. Smith cites some "*Simple, Undramatic Things We All Can Do*": stop using the words "nigger," "darkie," "coon"; stop telling "nigger jokes"; use courtesy titles when speaking to educated Negroes or about them; spend a little time, thinking—"thinking how it must feel to be a Negro in our South today"; seek out among the Negro race a few individuals with whom you can become good friends; subscribe to a Negro magazine or a Negro newspaper; whenever you have a chance of not being segregated, quietly take it, such as sitting by a Negro on bus or streetcar or standing by a Negro in an elevator; pay your cook more; find for yourself some racial project that fits your temperament and talents, such as Negro health, adequate hospitalization, Negro housing, or library facilities for Negroes; whatever else you can or cannot do, you can always write letters to your Congressmen, your governor, and your President. Among *Other Things To Be Done* are training one's children in good racial manners, training them to respect all people regardless of race or economic status, and to oppose injustice of all sorts; putting into the school system books which will build appreciation and understanding of all peoples in the world; bringing groups of educated whites and Negroes together. *For the few*, speak clearly and publicly against segregation of Negroes in public relations; break the taboo of action by eating with Negroes, sitting by them in public places, and having them in your homes; protest segregation in churches; and take an open stand for democratic labor unions.

That racial attitudes are changing is evidenced by the gains Negroes have made in education, in getting better jobs, in joining unions, in receiving better treatment by the press, the police, the

courts, and other agencies and institutions. It is seen in the increasing number of Negroes appointed to positions of prominence in official and voluntary organizations of various types. It is also evident in the recognition of the social-equality sort being accorded to individual Negroes, such as the selection of a colored woman as "American Mother of 1946," the election of a Negro girl as queen of the West Chester State Teachers College midwinter formal dance in 1944, the naming of a Negro girl in 1946 as one of the six attendants for the May Queen at Mount Holyoke College, the election in 1946 of a Negro student as president of his class at Bowdoin College, the initiation of a Negro by the Amherst College chapter of Phi Kappa Psi fraternity in 1948 in the face of its suspension by the national body, the election by popular vote of a Negro as one of the three marshals at the 1948 graduation exercises of Harvard University, and the election of Levi Jackson, star Negro halfback, as 1949 captain of Yale's football team and as a member of one of the leading undergraduate secret societies. These were all "firsts," that is, the first time such things had happened. Though special and trivial events in themselves, they are significant as straws showing which way the wind blows.

THE ROLE OF LEGISLATION

In principle, as we have seen, the Negro problem in the United States was settled long ago; in practice, it still remains, for the principle has not been fully brought into effect. The Negro has not yet been given all the elemental civil and political rights of formal democracy. Involved in this question are not only individual liberties and equal protection under the law, the right to vote and the right to safety and security of person and property, but also the rights basic to the normal functioning of an individual in society—the right to work, the right to a home, to good health, to education, and to public services. These are infringed upon in the case of the Negroes and, to some extent, other minorities. What is the role of legislation in effectuating these rights?

The most comprehensive proposal in this regard is embodied in the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, which was made public on Oct. 29, 1947. This committee, which President Truman set up in December, 1945, was composed of 15 prominent citizens, who served without compensation under the

chairmanship of Charles E. Wilson, president of the General Electric Company. It was authorized "to inquire into and to determine whether and in what respect current law-enforcement measures and the authority and means possessed by Federal, State, and local governments may be strengthened and improved to safeguard the civil rights of the people." In its report *To Secure These Rights* the committee recommended the establishment of a permanent Commission on Civil Rights in the Executive Office of the President, preferably by act of Congress; the establishment by the states of similar commissions to parallel the work of the Federal commission at the state level; the creation of a Joint Standing Committee on Civil Rights in Congress; and the reorganization of the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice and its elevation to the status of a full division in the department. This was the basic pattern of Federal and state machinery which the committee felt was necessary to advance American democracy. The committee also made some twenty-eight specific recommendations to strengthen the following rights: to safety and security of the person, to citizenship and its privileges, to freedom of conscience and expression, and to equality of opportunity. Under the last-mentioned section it recommended, in general, "the elimination of segregation, based on race, color, creed, or national origin, from American life," and specifically, the enactment of legislation to provide for equality of opportunity in employment, education, housing, health services, and public services.

In his message to Congress on civil rights, on Feb. 3, 1948, President Truman recommended the enactment of legislation directed toward the following specific objectives:

1. Establishing a permanent Commission on Civil Rights, a Joint Congressional Committee on Civil Rights, and a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice.
2. Strengthening existing civil-rights statutes.
3. Providing Federal protection against lynching.
4. Protecting more adequately the right to vote, by forbidding interference by public officers or private persons with the right of qualified citizens to participate in primary, special, and general elections in which Federal officers are to be chosen, and by ensuring that the right to vote in elections for Federal officers shall not be contingent upon the payment of taxes.

5. Establishing a Fair Employment Practice Commission to prevent unfair discrimination in employment.
6. Prohibiting discrimination in interstate transportation facilities.
7. Providing home rule and suffrage in Presidential elections for the residents of the District of Columbia.
8. Providing statehood for Hawaii and Alaska and a greater measure of self-government for our island possessions.
9. Equalizing the opportunities for residents of the United States to become naturalized citizens, by removing the racial or nationality barriers.
10. Settling the evacuation claims of Japanese-Americans.

Many of these and similar proposals were included in the platforms of the Republican, Democratic, and Progressive parties meeting in convention during 1948. A group of Southerners, however, bolted the Democratic party and set up the States Rights Democrats, or "Dixiecrats" as popularly known, with their own nominee for President. The feeling of many Southerners is that these civil-rights objectives are best attained through state rather than Federal action, that progress must be made more gradually and without external pressure, and that equality of civil rights in the South must be within the framework of segregation. The policy embodied in the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights and in the President's program is essentially that of integration in public relations. Before it is ready for that policy, the South must take the first step of securing equality under separation.

Under any comprehensive program there is large room for state action. States may go as far as they wish in protecting the civil rights of their people; they are limited only by the public opinion of the state. Where states have failed to protect civil rights, it is because they have been unwilling to do so. Their failure has created the present demand for more aggressive Federal action. The Federal government can not only provide leadership in the task of safeguarding the civil rights of the American people but by introducing uniformity of treatment can assist the states in raising their standards. By attacking the color bar everywhere, for example, in employment practices, it is possible to minimize the change needed in any individual establishment or in any particular section to integrate the Negro into the economic system. Wherever there are general restrictions, the individual

employer or proprietor or the individual school or other institution cannot completely ignore the discriminatory policy without encountering the risk of having a disproportionate number of the restricted group applying and converting the establishment into a racial institution. The same situation holds true between states. A natural instead of an artificial distribution would occur if within a state and between states the same practice were adopted simultaneously. Such uniformity is more likely to be obtained through Federal action. There would still be state and regional differences, but a common basic minimum would have been established. Individual states would have the opportunity and inducement to adopt new and higher standards.

Although prejudices, as was noted above, cannot be eliminated by legislation, discriminatory practices can be ended or at least curbed by such means. It is a truism that legislation to be effective must have the support of public opinion. It is also true, although not so generally recognized, that legislation can create public opinion, that laws can educate. Laws commanding or forbidding certain acts constantly condition the individual with reference to such acts. Laws requiring segregation, for example, strengthen the practice of separation and also the feeling that it is the proper way to behave. Laws forbidding segregation have the opposite effect on persons growing up and living under such a condition. Says Miss Syrkin (p. 62),

Many a Southerner, who would feel that the foundations of the universe were tottering if a Jim Crow ordinance were violated in Alabama, calmly accepts the proximity of Negroes in the subways and schools of Northern cities. In each case, the pressure of local law and custom educates him to a regard for an entirely different set of values. Though the gentleman from below the Mason-Dixon line has not been freed from racial prejudice because he sat next to a Negro in a New York City streetcar, narrower boundaries have been set to the practice of his prejudice. If he settles in New York, his prejudice will have to retreat to the limits accepted in his new community. He will use the same public conveyance as a Negro, but he will not necessarily have to live in the same residential quarter. The law which gives the Negro the right to ride in the same train is at the same time making inroads on the area of his distaste.

Also there is some evidence that before Jim Crow legislation was enacted, there was a tendency on the part of white people

to treat Negroes somewhat differently, depending upon class and education. This tendency was broken by the laws which applied to all Negroes. The legislation thus solidified the color line. Discrimination, especially when sanctioned by law, tends to breed discrimination. By the same token, laws forbidding discrimination tend to foster equality of treatment. Within the broad limits set by the state of public opinion or the mores, legislation can play a vital role and assume leadership in extending the rights of citizenship to all persons without regard to race, creed, or color.

Along with legislation, and in many respects more fundamental than legislation, is the need of educating the people to a new appreciation of the basic importance of the civil rights and liberties which are the foundation of American democracy. The report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights is a notable contribution to that end. The Federal government is in a strategic position to assume leadership in this respect and to focus the attention of the people on these vitally important problems. "Perhaps Congress has no more important duty than this," says Professor Cushman (p. 24), "for history teaches us that neither statutes, prosecutors, nor courts can protect civil rights and liberties in the face of a public opinion which no longer understands or values them."

FACTORS AND TRENDS

As was mentioned above, there are two avenues through which human behavior may be controlled: by operating on the situation within which people must act or by appealing directly to the values and attitudes of individuals. In his study *An American Dilemma* Myrdal holds that the main solution lies in the second approach. This view proceeds logically from the fact that he regards the Negro problem as primarily a moral issue; it has its existence in the white American's mind. Hence the solution, he thinks, lies largely in changing the latter's attitudes. Myrdal is thus led to lay the greatest stress on rationalism and moralism. This view fails to take fully into consideration how basic is the irrational in human motivation and behavior or how the ideal and the actual both exist in culture without creating undue conflict and troubled conscience. Nor does it take into account the

existence of two codes of mores—one for members of the in-group, another for the out-group—which further eases the moral conflict in interracial situations. Though the treatment of the Negro is without doubt the greatest challenge to American democracy, the conscience of white America does not appear to be as aware and disturbed as Myrdal thinks it is from his rational moral standpoint.

Myrdal believes that moral discussion, political propaganda, legislation, and education on practical and specific issues are the most effective measures in improving race relations. He holds that the explanation of social change is to be found more in people's beliefs and valuations than in terms of natural forces and material trends. Thus he would believe that a direct rational attempt to point out the errors of the white man's ways and opinions would have more effect on race relations than, say, the industrialization and general education of Negroes. Both factors, of course, play a role; but a deeper understanding of the evolution of culture and the psychological make-up of man would incline toward the latter approach.

The direct approach of attempting to change attitudes on race relations appeals to many because it appears to promise more immediate results and to lend itself more readily to planned or induced social change. Actually it is less effective and less fundamental than the indirect approach. The latter, however, takes more time. "Though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small." From this standpoint, advance in education, skill, economic well-being, health, political power, and other basic conditions, especially on the part of Negroes, are largely instrumental in altering both the attitudes of the dominant group and the status of the Negro. Consider, for example, as a factor in political participation, the change in the illiteracy rate of Negro males of voting age from 88 per cent in 1870 to 20 per cent in 1930. From a long-range view encompassing the entire history of Negro-white relations in America, these appear to be the main factors that have led to changing conditions which may be summarized as the advancement of the Negro. The process has been both automatic and induced. For example, the educational advance of the Negro has of itself, as an impersonal force, altered the basic conditions in race relations and led to increased recognition and opportunities in political, occupational, and social lines; at the same time the

Negro's educational advance has been furthered by educational programs put into operation with the purpose of improving his status. The interplay of both factors has produced basic trends in race relations. These have been indicated in the preceding chapters when discussing the various aspects of Negro life. From a more general standpoint and for illustrative purposes, certain trends might be summarized here.

From the economic standpoint the Negro has not only gained in wealth and income, but occupationally he has been moving toward the white pattern. This has been especially marked in industrial occupations and in skilled work and the professions. The advance has not been so great along business lines. Probably the development of business management must wait on the development of clerical and other white-collar occupations. Negroes are also becoming integrated into the economic system, especially manual workers into the labor movement. Race relations are resolving themselves into class and economic issues. An over-all trend appears to be the development of socio-economic classes that cut across race lines and may eventually come to replace color distinctions.

The Negro has been gaining political power and finding it a powerful instrument in improving his status. A concatenation of events, domestic and international, has helped to focus attention on the question of his civil rights and liberties. The Negro has increasingly sought redress before the Supreme Court and with mounting success. The favorable decisions have been more in cases involving his constitutional rights than in matters of segregation, but numerous barriers have been eradicated, and the Negro will undoubtedly continue his efforts along these lines. The expansion of government services—in housing, social security, health protection, education, and other fields—has been a boon to Negroes. Since these services are public or tax supported, they must be made available on an equitable basis; and the Negro is getting the political power to see that he is not discriminated against. In general, the trend toward the development of government as an agency of social welfare holds tremendous promise for Negroes.

A basic factor in the problem of the Negro, as in that of any minority group, is the question of geographic distribution. The Negroes have been handicapped by being so highly concentrated in the Southern states and especially in the rural areas. They have

also shown undue concentration in certain Northern cities. A more even distribution would react to his advantage and improve race relations. A trend has been occurring in this respect. It has been accompanied by a shift in occupation from agriculture to industry.

[The urbanization of the Negro has been one of the most fundamental factors in improving his status. Just as slavery was maladapted to city conditions, so is the principle of fixed status. The Negro has advanced farther from the castelike condition in the city than in the rural area. In the city he has made his greatest advance in education, occupation, income, political rights, and general level of living. There he has also received his greatest spiritual emancipation, and he has developed race consciousness and a sense of power. These gains have accrued in Southern cities as well as in Northern, though not to the same extent.]

The trend in race relations in the South is toward equalization within the framework of segregation. The principle of equal opportunities has been recognized in education and has been extended at points to include health, welfare, transportation, and recreation facilities; there is some indication that it will be extended to employment opportunities, equal treatment by the police and in the courts, and to suffrage. [If eventually a break in the pattern of segregation comes, it promises to appear first in the cities and in areas, like higher education, involving relatively few and higher status Negroes.] Its coming is also conditioned by the raising of the general level of living of the entire South. A significant trend in Southern regional planning is that of improving the conditions of all the people together. It has been suggested that a long-term program of industrialization and improvement of facilities for communication and mobility might well do more to reduce hostility between Negroes and whites in the South than the most elaborate attempts at education and propaganda.

[The Negro still suffers social and economic handicaps throughout the nation and legal disabilities in the South, but his progress over the years has been tremendous. American Negroes now rate in education, health, economic status, and other measures of achievement far above the total population of all but a few very favored nations. They are participating in every phase of American life—labor and industry, science and scholarship, music and the fine arts, and public leadership.] This is the other side of the

shield. In an address to soldiers in the Pacific on July 4, 1943, Arthur D. Williams, a Negro chaplain, said:

Of my fellow racemen, let me ask these questions. Where else but in our country could you have a George Washington Carver—born a slave, sold for a mule, and died the world's greatest industrial scientist? Where but in our country could you have a Sergeant Joe Louis—born on an Alabama plantation, world's heavyweight champion and donor of more money to the sailors' and soldiers' relief than any man in the armed services? Where but in America could we have a Marian Anderson—angelic singer and world-famous concert artist? Where else but in America have we a man—Jesse Owen—the fastest human in the world and the only American to throw dust in Hitler's eyes—at the Berlin Olympics? Where else but in America do we have a Lena Horne—scintillating star of Hollywood, one of the prettiest, sweetest, and most embraceable girls in the world? (Or so I am told.) Why, in America we have the only living man who claims he is God! Where but in America can we find a Father Divine?

The door of opportunity has never been closed tight. It is constantly opening wider. The outlook for the Negro in America is one of slow but steady advance toward democracy.

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